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YOUNG ADULTS' PERSPECTIVES ON DIVORCE

Living Arrangements

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There is increasing consensus that the perspectives of children need to be taken into account in decisions made by divorcing parents and the courts and that young adults who have lived through their parents' divorces can be an important source of information about children's perspectives. In this study, the authors assessed the perspectives of 820 college adults from divorced families on the issue of children's living arrangements after divorce. Respondents wanted to have spent more time with their fathers as they were growing up, and the living arrangement they believed was best was living equal time with each parent. The living arrangements they had as children gave them generally little time with their fathers. Respondents reported that their fathers wanted more time with them but that their mothers generally did not want them to spend more time with their fathers.

The purpose of this study is to examine the outcomes of divorce from the perspective of young adults who grew up with their parents' divorces. Important consequences of their parents' divorces for these young adults include the perceptions, attributions, attitudes, and feelings they are left with as they begin the process of starting their own adult lives and families. There is increasing consensus (L'Heureux-Dube, 1998; Mason, 1999; Wallerstein & Lewis, 1998) that the perspectives of children need to be taken into account in decisions made by divorcing parents and the courts and that young adults who have lived through their parents' divorces can be an important source of information about children's perspectives. But divorce researchers have typically not queried young adults about their parents' divorces.

One important aspect of the lives of children of divorce involves the living arrangements they have with each of their parents. Decisions about living arrangements are usually made early in the separation and divorce process and tend to be perpetuated throughout children's divorced family life. In most cases, these decisions are made for them. Because these arrangements set the context for their daily lives, children of divorce are likely to form strong perspectives on the issue of living arrangements.

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Earlier research on younger children's perspectives on living arrangements has demonstrated that children desire free and frequent access to noncustodial parents. For example, Rosen (1979) found that 60% of children wanted unrestricted contact, regardless of whether the noncustodial parent was mother or father. Children repeatedly insisted that being able to see the noncustodial parents whenever they wished and being able to see that parent often made their parents' divorces tolerable for them.

Kelly and Wallerstein (1977) reported that young children viewed the typical every-other-weekend visitation arrangement as severely inadequate. "The only younger children reasonably content with the visiting situation were those 7- and 8-year-olds visiting 2 or 3 times a week, most often by pedaling to their father's apartment on a bicycle" (p. 52). They also report that older children also wanted easy access and frequent contact. These children's feelings appeared to have some external validation in that "there were surprisingly few instances where we considered frequent visits to be detrimental to a child, or where such frequent visiting placed that child substantially at risk" (p. 54).

The perspectives of young children, although compelling, have not had much influence in public policy debates about custody and visitation. Young children's feelings may be suspected of being relatively temporary, malleable, and ultimately not strongly connected to measurable outcomes. The public policy debate about custody and visitation has generally been framed in terms of parents' (and, most recently, grandparents') rights rather than children's wishes (Mason, 1999). Thus, it is important that Wallerstein and Lewis (1998) have recently reported on the longitudinal follow-up of the perspectives of these children now that they are adults. Their report is based on a subsample of 25 respondents who were the youngest (now ages 27 to 32) in the longitudinal study.

Wallerstein and Lewis (1998) found that many of their respondents reported that their visitation schedules with their fathers had been too disruptive and too inflexible and that when this was true they got little enjoyment or benefit from visitation in the way of enhanced relationships with their fathers. As adults, they feel strongly now, as they did then, that their wishes should have been taken into account, and they remain angry and resentful that they were not. On the basis of the current perspectives of these adult children of divorce, Wallerstein and Lewis argue that the child's voice is too often not heard in decisions about living arrangements and visitation schedules.

It is clear from Wallerstein and Lewis's report that their respondents wished for more flexibility in scheduling of visits, but it is unclear if on balance they wished for more or less amounts of time with their fathers. The issue of flexibility of scheduling of visits is separate from the issue of amount of time spent with father, but it is reasonable to assume that these adults

wanted to have had their voices heard regarding both. Among the best adjusted of these respondents at 7 and 8 years of age were those who could ride their bikes to their fathers' houses, effecting some control over both the scheduling and the amount of time with their fathers. If we are able to take the child's wishes into account regarding visitation, then a crucial missing piece of information is the quantity of time they now wish that they had had with their fathers.

We have undertaken a systematic examination of this issue with a large sample of young adults who, like Wallerstein and Lewis's respondents, are looking back and evaluating their childhood experiences in divorced families. First, we examine their reports of what living arrangements they had and how those arrangements changed as time passed. Second, we examine what living arrangements they wanted and what arrangements they feel their mothers and fathers wanted. Third, we examine in some detail what living arrangement this next generation of parents believes is best.

It is important to determine what living arrangements young adults remember having. There have typically been reports that most divorced fathers do not see their children much (Furstenberg, Nord, Peterson, & Zill, 1983; Seltzer & Bianchi, 1988; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991, Table C). However, this research has been done almost exclusively with mothers. When asked, fathers report more involvement, both on subjective scales (Ahrons, 1983; Fulton, 1979) and objective scales (Braver et al., 1993). Part of the difference may be due to different interpretations by mothers and fathers of what constitutes father involvement (Ahrons, 1983). Children's interpretations of how much involvement they had with their fathers are important because these interpretations form the children's subjective assessments of the disparity between what they had and what they wanted.

Young adults will have some understanding of the living arrangements each of their parents wanted, based not only on what their parents said but also on their actions while they were growing up. These perceptions of what their parents wanted are important because they are part of the young adults" understanding of how and why their parents made the living-arrangement decisions that they did. These perceptions are also a potential source of feelings of rejection or resentment if the young adults perceive that a parent wanted little involvement or that one parent wanted the other parent to have little involvement with them.

There may be an advantage to asking young adults what their parents wanted because it may avoid a self-serving bias that could influence parents' reports. There have been reports that mothers want father involvement (Furstenberg, 1988). We know much less about what fathers want (Seltzer & Brandreth, 1994). Statistics showing that divorced fathers spend little time

with their children do not tell us that this is necessarily what the fathers want. Some fathers may want little time, but others may have wanted to take equal responsibility for child rearing but were prevented by circumstances from doing so. Thus, young adults' perceptions of the living arrangements their parents wanted will provide some needed third party the information on what kinds of living arrangements divorced mothers and fathers want.

A final part of their perspectives is their belief about what living arrangement is best for children. This belief will be personally relevant to them in at least two ways. They will evaluate the living arrangements they had in light of what they believe is best for children, and what they believe is best will influence future decisions they may have to make for their own children. They may think that what they think is best is similar to what divorced mothers think, or divorced fathers, or neither. To the extent they see their own beliefs as different, and their parents' generation's beliefs as wrong, they may be likely to hold their own beliefs more strongly. Consequently, we also examined what they thought divorced mothers and divorced fathers would believe are the best living arrangements for children.

Derevensky and Deschamps (1997) have recently examined some of these issues and concluded that most young adults from divorced families do not see joint physical custody as a viable option; however, their conclusion may be premature. They studied a very small sample ($N = 37$) of college students from divorced families, and the only question they asked about their preferred living arrangements was whether they would have wanted joint physical custody or sole physical custody with one or the other parent. Most students had sole maternal custody, and 83% of them preferred it. However, circumstances such as their parents living in different school districts might have prevented students from wanting to split their time equally between their parents' houses, although they still might have wanted more time with their fathers. Derevensky and Deschamps did not ask how much time they would have preferred with their fathers, nor did they ask what living arrangement they felt was best for children in general. They did find, however, that of those students who actually had joint custody, 80% preferred having it.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were students in an introductory psychology course at a large southwestern state university who took part in research for course credit dur-

ing the fall 1996, fall 1997, spring 1998, fall 1998, and spring 1999 semesters. During this time, 344 male participants and 485 female participants indicated they were from divorced families. These participants constituted the sample for this study.

Across all five semesters, 30.7% of the students reported that their parents were divorced. This is comparable to the typical estimate that one third of children's parents will divorce (Bumpass & Sweet, 1989; National Center for Health Statistics, 1990, Table 1-31). Women (31.3%) were not significantly more likely to be from divorced families than men (29.9%).[1] Self-reported ethnicity among these participants included Caucasian (77.0%), Hispanic (8.5%), Asian (3.2%), African American (3.2%), Native American (1.4%), Middle Eastern (0.4%) and other (6.4%) (including any two or three categories and none of the above). Mean age at time of testing was 20 years, 1.5 months.

In spring 1999, we asked participants (n = 321) when their parents' divorces occurred. Participants were given six response options (1979 or before, 1980-1983, 1984-1987, 1988-1991, 1992-1995, 1996 or later). The respective frequencies for these year-of-divorce intervals were 11%, 29%, 21%, 22%, 12%, and 6%. Thus, for our sample as a whole, the estimated average years of the divorces were from 1985 to 1987.

Participants were given five response options to indicate how old they were when their parents divorced (0-5 years old, 6-10, 11-15, 16-18, 19 or older). The respective frequencies for these age-at-divorce intervals were 38%, 28%, 20%, 10%, and 4%. The estimated age of our participants from these age-at-divorce intervals was 8 years. Braver's (1998) representative sample of divorces filed in 1986 in Phoenix yielded children at approximately 6 years of age.

Procedures

Students who were present in class were given one of four randomly distributed paper-and-pencil questionnaires during a class period each semester devoted to research participation. Each semester, either some or most of the questions analyzed here were included on one or all of the questionnaires.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the means by gender for the living arrangements participants reported they had, the arrangements they wanted, their perceptions of

Table 1
Means and Number of Respondents for Reports of Respondents" Living Arrangements

	Men		Women	
Living Arrangement	Mean	Number	Mean	Number
What they had	2.32	339	1.98	481
What they wanted	3.13	135	2.62	180
What their mothers wanted	2.01	140	1.86	214
What their fathers wanted	3.06	144	3.39	210
Their beliefs about what is best	3.58	341	3.54	478
Divorced mothers' beliefs	2.10	82	1.65	114
Divorced fathers' beliefs	4.40	82	4.43	114

NOTE: The scale ranged from 0 = primary residence with mother and minimal or no contact with father to 8 = primary residence with father and minimal or no contact with mother, with 4 = equal time spent with each parent.

what their parents wanted, their own beliefs about what living arrangement is best, and the living arrangements they think divorced mothers and fathers believe are best for children. For each variable, the scale ranged from 0, indicating primary residence with mother and little contact with father, to 8, indicating primary residence with father and little contact with mother, with 4 indicating equal time spent with each parent.

Men reported a significantly greater amount of time spent with their fathers (mean = 2.32) than women did (1.98).[2] Men also reported that they wanted significantly greater amounts of time with their fathers (3.13) than women did (2.62).[3] Importantly, both men and women wanted significantly more time with their fathers than they actually had.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of responses to these two questions, collapsed over gender. Eighty percent of participants reported that they had lived primarily with their mothers, 8% reported having lived equal amounts of time with each parent, and 12% reported that they had lived primarily with their fathers. Whereas almost half (48%) reported actual living arrangements in one of the two lowest categories of seeing their fathers, either minimally or not at all, or only some of the time, in a dramatic reversal, 48% reported that they had wanted one of the two categories of seeing their fathers a lot or living equal amounts of time with each parent.

To see how living arrangements and visitation frequency might have changed over time, we asked participants (n = 134) to report the arrangements they had during the first 2 years after the divorce (mean for men and women combined = 2.27), the 3rd and 4th years (2.20), the 5th and 6th years

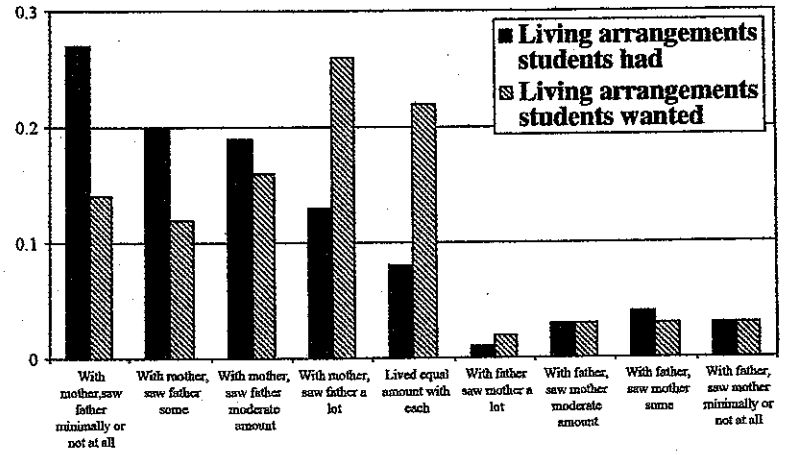

Figure 1. Proportion of subjects who reported they had each type of living arrangement and proportion who reported they wanted each type.

(2.05), and the 7th and 8th years (2.14). Statistical analyses showed no indication that contact with the father decreased during the 8 years following the divorce.

We asked participants which living arrangements they perceived their mothers had wanted and which they perceived their fathers had wanted.[4] Both male and female participants alike reported a significant difference between how much time their fathers wanted with them (mean for men and women combined = 3.25) and how much time their mothers wanted their fathers to have (1.92). Figure 2 shows the distributions of responses to these two questions. Forty percent reported that their mothers had wanted them to see their fathers either minimally or not at all, or only some of the time. Only 7% felt their mothers had wanted them to spend equal amounts of time with each parent. Many fewer fathers than mothers were perceived to have wanted the three lowest categories of father involvement, whereas 44% of participants reported that their fathers had wanted their children to live with them either half time or more than half time.

There was no significant difference between the actual living arrangements participants reported they had and what they reported their mothers wanted them to have, for either men or women. Fathers, however, were perceived by both male and female participants to have wanted significantly more involvement than they had. This was especially true of those fathers who saw their children minimally or not at all, some, and a moderate amount.

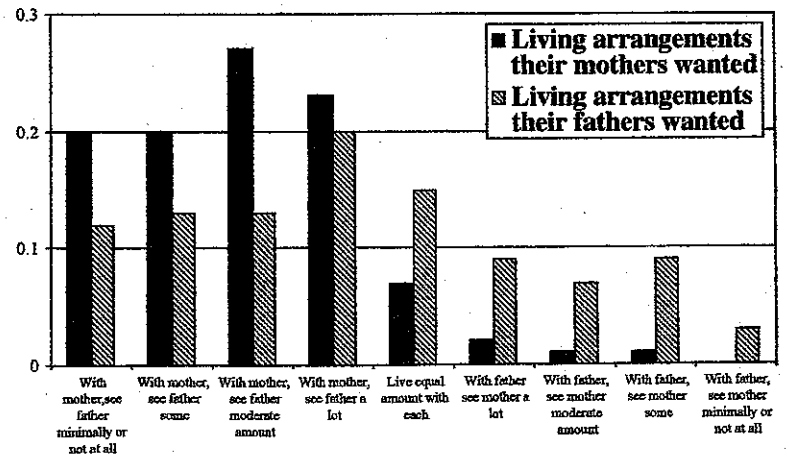

Figure 2. Proportion of subjects who reported their mothers and fathers wanted each type of living arrangement.

The percentages of these fathers who were perceived to have wanted more involvement than they had were 63%, 78%, and 78%, respectively. In contrast, the percentages of mothers who were perceived to have wanted their children to have more contact with their fathers decreased rapidly once fathers had a moderate amount of contact. The corresponding percentages of mothers were 60%, 55%, and 28%. Overall, only 32% of participants reported that their mothers and fathers had wanted the same living arrangements.

Finally, men felt that their fathers wanted the same amount of time with them (mean = 3.06) as they themselves wanted (3.13), but women felt that their fathers wanted significantly more time with them (3.39) than they wanted (2.62) (see Table 1).

We next wanted to see what our participants, who had lived through their parents' divorces, thought was the best living arrangement for children of divorce.[5] In asking this question, we used more socially acceptable anchor categories of regular visits with the other parent, instead of anchoring the scale with categories of seeing the other parent minimally or not at all. These were followed by three categories specifying increasing numbers of overnight stays (a few, some, and a substantial number). As before, the central category (4 on the scale) specified living equal amounts of time with each parent. There was no significant difference between men (mean = 3.58) and women (3.54) on this question. Figure 3 shows that 70% of the participants felt that

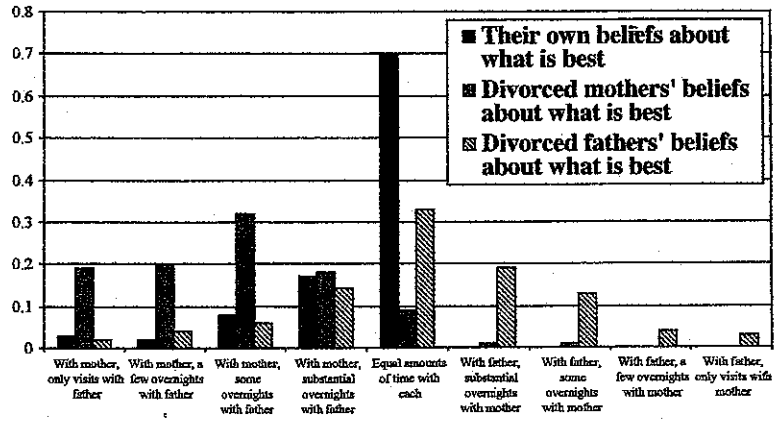

Figure 3. Proportion of subjects who believed each type of living arrangement was best for children, and proportion who thought divorced mothers and divorced fathers would believe each type was best.

the best living arrangement for children was equal amounts of time with each parent.

We checked to see if the strong preference for equal living arrangements was not perhaps coming from those participants who had lived less with their fathers. Perhaps believing that an equal living arrangement is ideal is a "grass is greener" phenomenon, and those who had in fact lived more equally with both parents might perceive this arrangement as less than ideal. However, of those who lived equal time with each parent, 93% believed that an equal living arrangement was in fact best.

We asked participants (n = 88) what they thought was the best living arrangement for children of different ages (stipulating that the parents were both good parents and they lived relatively close to one another). There were five versions of this question that asked about children ages birth to 2 years, 3 to 5 years, 6 to 10 years, 11 to 14 years, and 15 to 18 years. The question asked, "How many days should the child spend at the Dad's house during an average 2-week (14-day) period where 'day' means daytime plus overnight?" The response scale differed from the qualitative scale used in the previous question, because it provided quantitative categories. It was worded as follows: "0 = 1-2 days at dad's (this is equivalent to one weekend at most with dad); 1 = 3-4 days at dad's; 2 = 5 days at dad's; 3 = 6 days at dad's; 4 = 7 days at dad's (equal time with each); 5 = 8 days at dad's; 6 = 9 days at dad's; 7 = 10-11

days at dad's; 8 = 12-13 days at dad's (this is equivalent to one weekend at most with mom)."

The means for the five age intervals were 1.98, 2.78, 2.99, 3.01, and 2.91, respectively. The mean for birth to 2 years was significantly lower than the means for the older ages, which did not differ among each other. The quantitative response options used in these questions reveal that participants felt that, in a 2-week period, even infants and toddlers should spend 5 days and nights at their fathers' houses (1.98). For older children, age 3 to 18, participants felt they should spend on average six days and nights (2.92). In this question, the category of equal time was defined narrowly as 7 days and nights out of 14. The percentages of respondents who chose either 6 days or 7 days for each age interval were 32%, 52%, 64%, 61%, and 57%, respectively.

Finally, we wondered if participants felt that their views on the best living arrangements for children were similar to the views held by their parents' generation.[6] The response scale was the qualitative one, anchored by the categories of regular visits with the other parent. Even though the questions specified conditions (i.e., two good parents living nearby) that should have been conducive to shared living arrangements, there was a significant difference between what they thought divorced fathers would think was best and what divorced mothers would think was best. They felt that fathers on average would think the best arrangement for children is to live with their fathers somewhat more than half the time (mean for men and women combined = 4.42), and that mothers would think that only some overnights with father was best (1.88). Figure 3 also shows the distribution of responses to these two questions. Importantly, participants felt that their own beliefs about what is best were significantly different from those of divorced mothers, in that they felt few mothers would think equal time was best, and also from those of divorced fathers, in that they felt many fathers would think primary residence with the father was best.

DISCUSSION

Wallerstein and Lewis (1998) argue that children's voices too often are not heard in decisions that affect them during divorce, leading to resentment, anger, and damage to parent-child relationships that persist into adulthood. In this study, we asked more than 800 young adults who had grown up with their parents' divorces to give us their perspectives on a central issue that affects children of divorce daily: their living arrangements with each of their parents. Their perspective was clear. They wanted to have spent more time with their

fathers as they were growing up, and the living arrangement they believed was best for children was living equal time with each parent.

The two categories of living arrangements that participants most wanted to have were to live equal amounts of time with each parent and, one step below that, to see their fathers a lot. These desires for more time with their fathers stemmed from a childhood in which they spent generally little time with them and in which they perceived substantial disagreement between their parents on the issue. Participants reported uniformly low levels of amount of time spent with their fathers. Their living arrangements were notable for their lack of variation. The most common arrangement was the lowest category of father involvement (see father minimally or not at all) on the scale, and the range hardly extended beyond half of the scale. The living arrangements were also notable for their stability over time. What participants reported they had at the beginning of their parents' divorces was the same as what they had up to 8 years later. This seems to support Wallerstein and Lewis's (1998) report that parents were not flexible in adjusting living arrangements as children grew older.

Participants perceived that their parents disagreed on the living arrangements they each wanted. It might have been expected that because father involvement was so low that is what fathers wanted, whereas mothers wanted fathers to be more involved. But the opposite was true. Participants reported that their mothers wanted the status quo and it was fathers who wanted more time with their children. Many more mothers than fathers were perceived to have wanted the three lowest categories of father involvement. The preferences participants perceived in their fathers represented quite a high level of desired parental responsibility. Forty-four percent of fathers were perceived by their now-grown children to have wanted their children to live with them either half time or most of the time. They thus believed that close to half of their fathers wanted to have assumed a significant, and more often a majority, of their daily care responsibilities. Even among the participants who saw their fathers minimally or not at all, some of the time, and a moderate amount, 63%, 78%, and 78%, respectively, reported that their fathers had wanted to see them more. It is worth remembering that these were not childhood reports obtained during early stages of fantasy-laden attempts to cope with father absence but reports of adult college students who had, in Wallerstein and Lewis's (1998) words, "formulated and reformulated their judgments on each parent on the basis of their own observations throughout their growing-up years" (p. 377). Given that mothers wanted the status quo and fathers wanted more involvement, it is not surprising that only 32% reported that their mothers and fathers had wanted the same living arrangements.

Participants believed that the best living arrangement for children was equal time with each parent. This represented a remarkable consensus on their part and a remarkable divergence from their experiences in their own families. Fewer than 10% grew up in the category of living equal amounts of time with each parent. They also felt that fewer than 10% of their mothers and 20% of their fathers wanted equal time, and just over 20% of participants themselves wanted equal time given their particular family circumstances. But 70% of them, men and women alike, thought that living equal amounts of time with each parent was the best living arrangement for children. Among the few of them that actually had that arrangement, an even greater percentage (93%) believed it was best. This belief of theirs also represented a remarkable divergence from what they though their parents' generation would believe is best. Participants saw themselves as holding a new belief about which living arrangement is in the best interests of the child. Male participants saw themselves as different from divorced fathers on the issue, and female participants especially saw themselves as different from divorced mothers (see Table 1). From their points of view, neither divorced mothers, whom they perceived to want much less father involvement, nor divorced fathers, many of whom they perceived to want their children to live with them more than half time, got it right.

Thus, participants' belief that children should live equal amounts of time with each parent was not simply a reflection of their perceptions of anyone else's views. Clearly, this was their own decision, and it proved difficult to shake. It remained unchanged through changes in the wording of the question and changes in the position of the question in the surveys. And it remained remarkably consistent through changes in the response scale that introduced quantitative responses and distinctions among different-age children. The majority of participants felt that in a 2-week period the best arrangement should be either 6 or 7 days and nights at the father's house for each age interval beyond infancy and toddlerhood.

Research on the correlates of divorce has shown that parental conflict is associated with negative outcomes for children (e.g., Emery, 1982; Peterson & Zill, 1986). The present data show that the potential exists for children to be exposed to parental conflict on the issue of children's living arrangements. Children apparently expect that it is the norm for divorced mothers and fathers to disagree quite strongly on living arrangements (see Figure 3). And children apparently easily notice if their fathers do want more time, because 57% of our participants reported their fathers wanted more time. Thus, children are likely to expect and know about parental disagreement over living arrangements. The current situation in which both fathers and children gener-

ally want more time together than they have thus creates a dilemma. If fathers try to reassure their children that they would like to have more time with them, they run the risk of making the child feel caught in the middle. If fathers try to hide it, they run the risk of their children thinking they do not share their desire for more time together.

The way out of this dilemma is to somehow promote more parental agreement on the issue of living arrangements. The primary consideration should be children's wishes, as Mason (1999) and Wallerstein and Lewis (1998) have recently and forcefully argued. For too long, however, we have had little insight into what living arrangements children actually want and which ones make the pain of their parents' separations easier to bear, and parents and policy makers alike have paid too little heed to what insight we did have (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1977; Rosen, 1979). Our participants, who have lived through their parents' divorces and have now entered young adulthood (and college), have given us their "expert" advice. Seventy percent of them, men and women alike, believe that living equal amounts of time with each parent is the best arrangement for children. Our participants felt that a substantial portion of their fathers wanted to be primary caregivers (see Figure 2), which was clearly not in agreement with participants' beliefs about what is best, whereas other fathers wanted less than equal involvement. Therefore, change for fathers will apparently have to come in both directions. But among mothers, virtually all were perceived to have wanted less father involvement than equal time, so change for mothers will be in the direction of approving of much more father involvement. What should motivate both mothers and fathers is the knowledge that if they do not change, their children will grow up feeling that their parents did not give them the living arrangement that they consider to be best for children. What should make change easier is the fact that what children want are more equitable living arrangements, and so parents ideally do not have to see the issue as a win or lose situation for themselves.

In society and the courts, the discussion is still circumscribed by assumptions and concerns about reasonable visitation within the context of primary residence with the mother. This assumption is at odds with what the current generation of college students believes is best. And the resulting living-arrangement decisions that were made for this generation were at odds with the amount of time they wanted to spend with their fathers. But if the attitudes expressed by our participants do not change as they grow older, then the custody wars that they experienced as children will become a thing of the past in the next generation. The future mothers and fathers among our participants agreed on the best living arrangement for children after divorce. We suspect that their attitudes are not likely to change for several reasons. They

see themselves as taking a new position on living arrangements, different from both mothers and fathers in their parents' generation. Having arrived at that position on their own, they may be less likely to give it up. And they are not likely to forget the experiences and feelings they had as children of divorce that led them to their belief that equal living arrangements are best for children.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The plea has recently been made (Wallerstein & Lewis, 1998; Mason 1999) and apparently is being heard by the courts (L'Heureux-Dube, 1998) to develop a child-centered approach to custody and visitation decisions. The current findings can be used by those setting policy and those deciding individual cases to understand the typical feelings that children undergoing their parents' divorces will have regarding their living arrangements. Young adults who have lived through their parents' divorces, and who have gone on to college, do not think living equal time with each parent is necessarily unworkable, and in fact, they believe with remarkable consensus that it is the best arrangement for children. Application to individual cases must of course be based on assessments of individual children and their particular circumstances, which may or may not make equal living arrangements appropriate. But it is the parents who ultimately must decide to make these arrangements workable. Perhaps the best use of these findings is for professionals to share them with parents, to make parents aware of the lasting feelings their children are likely to have about the living arrangements they will give them. Future research does need to determine how well these findings hold for students who do not go to college. Thus, the most conservative application of the current findings for now is to families who are likely to send their children to college. But the remarkable consensus shown by our participants does suggest that the belief that equal living arrangements is best cuts across many different family circumstances and childhood experiences. Our participants did not seem to represent families that were particularly predisposed to encourage children to believe that equal living arrangements were viable and optimal. Children generally had little time with their fathers, mothers tended to want that level of father involvement, and fathers ranged across the scale in terms of how much involvement they wanted. The current results show that for a large section of the population at least, children want more time with their fathers after divorce and they perceive that their fathers do also. Viewed in just one simplistic way, the discrepancy between the amount of parental responsibility perceived to be desired by their fathers and the amount they

actually provided represents a significant and untapped source of child care. Viewed in a deeper way, in terms of human relationships, it represents a lost opportunity on the part of both father and child and a potential source of regret and resentment in ongoing relationships.

NOTES

1. Throughout this article, when we refer to differences being significant, we mean statistically significant at the conventional level of probability, that is, that there is less than a 5% probability that the difference would not be found again in a different study on another set of participants. Details of the statistical tests are available on request.

2. This question read, "Between the time your parents got divorced and now, which of the following best characterizes your living arrangements with each of them?"

3. This question read, "What living arrangement do you feel most closely describes what you wanted to have after the divorce?"

4. These questions read, "What living arrangement do you feel most closely describes what [your mother or your father] wanted you to have after the divorce?"

5. The first version (fall 1996) of this question began as follows: "If two parents get divorced, and they are equally good parents and live relatively close to one another . . . " We suspected that the term "equally good" might have tended to elicit responses of "equal time with each parent." Consequently, we revised the question in the next three administrations of the survey to replace the term "equally good parents" with "both good parents." The change had no effect. The mean before the change was 3.58 ($n = 147$), and after the change the overall mean was 3.57 ($n = 359$; fall 1997 = 3.65, spring 1998 = 3.59, fall 1998 = 3.40). Finally, we changed the wording again for the last administration to remove the phrase "and they are both good parents and they live relatively close to one another" so that participants would not base their answers only on children who had optimal circumstances for equal time. The question simply asked, "If two parents get divorced, what do you feel is the best living arrangement for the children?" The mean remained the same at 3.58 ($n = 321$). The position of the question was also varied within the divorce section of the surveys. In the first two administrations, it appeared after the same 10 questions about actual living arrangements and relationships with parents; in the final three administrations, it appeared as the first question.

6. These questions read, "We want to know what you think divorced moms [divorced dads] would say to the question: If two parents get divorced, and they are both good parents, and they live relatively close to one another, what do you feel is the best living arrangement for the child(ren)?"

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Family Law Section

State Bar of Wisconsin
Wisconsin Lawyers. Expert Advisers. Serving You.

TO: Assembly Committee on Children and Families

FROM: **Family Law Section**
State Bar of Wisconsin

DATE: September 6, 2007

RE: 2007 Assembly Bill 462

The State Bar's **Family Law Section** opposes in principle 2007 Assembly Bill 462 relating to modifying current standards for moving or removing a child.

The United States Census Bureau reports 39 million people changing addresses between 2003 and 2004; approximately 39 million people also moved in 2004 to 2005. This rate "continues a gradual, long term decline in residential mobility among U.S. residents since the late 1940s." Of the people who moved in 2004 to 2005, the majority moved within the same county with movers to a different county within the same state coming in second. The majority of people moved for housing-related reasons.

(Sources: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/moblity_of_the_population/007575.html; http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/moblity_of_the_population/005247.html; http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/migrate/cps2005.html)

The Family Law Section opposes AB 462 for several reasons. The reduction from 150 miles to 20 miles if the parents already live 20 miles or less from each other is too restrictive of a parent's right (or need) to move and would trigger many more needless removal cases coming into the courts. As U.S. Census data shows, the majority of moves in this country are within the same county; reducing the mileage down to 20 miles would trigger removal cases for a parent moving from one side of Madison to another, from one side of Milwaukee to another, or from one side of a county to the middle of the same county. Additional cases would be created by requiring notice when a parent seeks to move outside of a child's current school district; in some cases a move simply across the street would trigger removal litigation. Cases that otherwise would not enter the court system would now have to be decided by the court, thereby increasing their caseload in the face of continuing funding issues.

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There is also concern that the removal statute probably does not apply to paternity cases. This results in a person who is the former spouse, but an uninvolved parent, having greater rights than, for example, a very involved father who was never married to the child's mother. The provision that the parent objecting to the move has the burden of proof when the other parent has 90% or more placement time is virtually meaningless in the face of the statutory mandate of Wis. Stat. § 767.41(4) that requires a placement order that "maximizes the amount of time the child may spend with each parent." Most physical placement orders currently fall in the 60% to 40% range, and very, very few cases would fall into the 90%-10% range. The procedure under Section 7 of the Bill therefore ignores the reality that a parent with 10% or less placement time is a rare parent and that there were undoubtedly compelling reasons for that allocation of placement.

Eliminating the child's adjustment to home, school, religion and community as a factor the court may consider under this Bill seems directly contrary to the intent of the Bill. It simply does not make sense for a removal case to be triggered if a child may move outside of his or her school district, but then the court cannot consider the child's adjustment to the current school in its analysis. A judge trying to make the right decision should, in some cases, consider these factors; these factors are often used to weigh against allowing a parent to move with a child.

Requiring that a parent who is allowed to move to pay for any additional transportation costs is not always reasonable. Typically, courts will require the moving parent to pay for more than one-half of the additional transportation costs. However, such a requirement would hardly be reasonable in a case where the non-custodial parent is not paying child support or is seriously delinquent in support.

Removal cases are difficult, fact-sensitive cases. Courts need flexibility in dealing with these cases; it would be an additional burden on the courts to have to decide a new, larger group of removal cases involving moves between 20 and 150 miles, particularly in light of the data showing that the majority of moves take place within the same county and are for housing-related reasons. The problems with removal cases are not addressed by this Bill, but would only make them worse.

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The State Bar of Wisconsin establishes and maintains sections for carrying on the work of the association, each within its proper field of study defined in its bylaws. Each section consists of members who voluntarily enroll in the section because of a special interest in the particular field of law to which the section is dedicated. Section positions are taken on behalf of the section only. The views expressed on this issue have not been approved by the Board of Governors of the State Bar of Wisconsin and are not the views of the State Bar as a whole. These views are those of the Section alone.

If you have questions about this memorandum, please contact Sandy Lonergan, Government Relations Coordinator, at slonergan@wisbar.org or (608) 250-6045.

Submitted by Steve Blake

Minnesota Center Against Violence and Abuse

providing research, education, and access to violence related resources

Domestic Violence Factoids

Richard J. Gelles
University of Rhode Island Family Violence Research Program

Published: 1995

Understanding Domestic Violence Factoids

According to the FBI, A Woman is Beaten Every (fill in the blank) SECONDS

First, the FBI does not calculate, tabulate, or track data on domestic violence. The FBI once did estimate that a women is beaten every 15 seconds, but they derived this estimate from Murray Straus, Richard J. Gelles, and Suzanne K. Steinmetz's book, Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family.

Various other fact sheets list various other number of seconds. The number of seconds depends on the study (if there actually was one) and how violence was defined. For example, some versions of this factoid state that a women is beaten every 9 seconds and cite a study done by the Commonwealth Fund in July, 1993. The Commonwealth Fund study used the same measure as was used by Straus and his colleagues. Unlike Straus and his colleagues who defined "abuse" as acts of violence that were likely to cause and injury, the Commonwealth Fund defined "abuse" as every thing from pushing, shoving, and slapping to using a gun or knife.

There Are Four Million Women Beaten and Abused Each Year

Same problems as above. The Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz survey estimated that 2 million women were abused each year by their husbands. Straus and his colleagues speculated that if all the respondents told the truth and if ex-husbands and boyfriends were included, the number could be as high as 4 million. However, no study to date using a representative sample and measuring severe violence, has found more than 2 million abused women each year.

Domestic Violence is the Leading Cause of Injury to Women Between the Ages of 15 and 44 in the United States - More Than Car Accidents, Muggings, and Rapes Combined

This factoid has been attributed to both Surgeon General Antonia Novello and the Centers for Disease Control. The actual primary source of this "fact" is research by Evan Stark and Ann Flitcraft. It was probably Stark and Flitcraft who supplied the fact to CDC, who then included it in material supplied to the Surgeon General. Unfortunately, as good a sound bite as this is, it is simply not true. The original source of this statement goes back to two papers by Stark and Flitcraft. First, the actual research the "fact" is based on is a rather small survey of one emergency room. Second, in the original articles, they said that domestic violence may (emphasis added) be a more common cause of emergency room visits than car accidents, muggings, and rapes combined.

Linda Saltzman from the Centers for Disease Control tells all journalists who call to check this fact that the CDC does not recognize this as either their fact or a reputable fact.

The March of Dimes Reports that Batterering During Pregnancy is the Leading Cause of Birth Defects and Infant Mortality

The March of Dimes actually reports that they know of no such study.

Sixty-three Percent of Young Men Between the Ages of 11 and 20 Who Are Serving Time for Homicide Have Killed Their Mother's Abuser

This factoid is often used by Sarah Buel in her speeches. It appears to be yet another fact from nowhere. The FBI has published no data that supports this claim. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports has no tables that report on prison populations, let alone a table or figure that breaks down prison populations by age of offender and relationship to victim. There are no Department of Justice reports that report on what number or percentage of young men kill their mother's batterer.

Family Violence has Killed More Women in the Last Five Years as the Total Number of Americans Who Were Killed in The Vietnam War

This factoid was often used by Dr. Robert McAfee, past president of the American Medical Association. There were about 55,000 American casualties in the Viet Nam war. According to the FBI, Uniform Crime Statistics, about 1,500 women are killed by their husbands or boyfriends each year. The total number of women homicide victims each year is about 5,000. Thus, in 5 years, even if every women who was killed, was killed by a family member, the total would still be 1/2 the number of American casualties in Viet Nam.

Women Who Leave Their Batterers Are at a 75% Greater Risk of Being Killed by the Batterer than Those Who Stay

Women are more likely to be victims of homicide when they are estranged from their husbands than when they live with their husbands--BUT NOT A 75 % GREATER RISK. The risk of homicide is higher in the first two months after separation.

SOURCE: Wilson, Margo and Martin Daly. (1993) "Spousal homicide risk and estrangement." Violence and Victims, 8, 3-16.

Women Who Kill Their Batterers Receive Longer Prison Sentences than Men Who Kill Their Partners

This factoid is often attributed to someone from Pace University. There is no actual published source for this. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Violence Between Intimates (November, 1994), the average prison sentence for men who killed their wives was 17.5 years; the average sentence for women convicted of killing their husbands was 6.2 years.

Factoids From the Right of Center

Women are as Violence as are Men, and Women Initiate Violence as Often as do Men

This factoid cites research by Murray Straus, Suzanne Steinmetz, and Richard Gelles, as well as a host of other self-report surveys. Those using this factoid tend to conveniently leave out the fact that Straus and his colleague's surveys as well as data collected from the National Crime Victimization Survey (Bureau of Justice Statistics) consistently find that no matter what the rate of violence or who initiates the violence, women are 7 to 10 times more likely to be injured in acts of intimate violence than are men.

Other Factoids from Nowhere

4,000 Women Each Year are Killed by Their Husbands, Ex-husbands, or Boyfriends

The FBI reports that approximately 1,500 women are killed each year by husbands or boyfriends. Even if one factors in the number of women killed by unidentified or undetermined assailants, the number could not be 4,000.

Women of All Cultures, Races, Occupations, Income Levels, and Ages are Battered - by Husbands, Boyfriends, Lovers, and Partners

While this fact is technically true, it is also true that domestic violence is more likely to occur in homes below the poverty line, in minority households (even controlling for income), and among men and women 18 to 30 years of age.

Nationally, 50% of All Homeless Women and Children are on the Streets Because of Violence in the Home

An interesting factoid stated by Senator Biden, but one without any actual published scientific research to support it.

There are Nearly Three Times as Many Animal Shelters in the United States as There are Shelters for Battered Women and Their Children

Another great sound bite, but one not actually based on a verified count of either type of shelter.

The following projects are a part of the Minnesota Center Against Violence and Abuse (MINCAVA):

MINCAVA Electronic Clearinghouse | The Link Research Project | Violence Against Women Online Resources
VAWnet (Applied Research Forum) | Minnesota Rural Project for Women and Child Safety
MINCAVA is directed by Jeffrey L. Edleson, PhD.

NATIONAL FAMILY VIOLENCE LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER

Advocating for non-discriminatory and evidence-based policies

submitted by Steve Blake

Family violence, including intimate partner violence (IPV), is a significant social problem in the United States and Canada. Although current policies have in many ways been enormously helpful, a convincing body of research indicates that they have in other respects been inadequate to our common efforts to reduce violence in our homes, and have sometimes compromised our civil liberties.

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National Family Violence Legislative Resource Center

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Policy Statement on Family Violence

Family violence, including intimate partner violence (IPV), continues to be a significant social problem in the United States and Canada. Although current policies have in many ways been enormously helpful, a convincing body of research indicates that they have in other respects been inadequate to our common efforts to reduce violence in our homes, and have sometimes compromised our civil liberties. We at the National Family Violence Legislative Resource Center are researchers, educators, victim's advocates, batterer intervention providers and mental health professionals who believe that the time has come to re-examine family violence public policy in the following areas:

#1: Law enforcement responses

The facts

Males disproportionately arrested - As a result of "zero tolerance" policies, arrests for IPV have increased substantially. Many involve first-time offenders rather than habitual recidivists, who have engaged in less severe forms of physical aggression (e.g., grabbing and pushing) with lesser consequences for victims (Apsler et al, 2002; Hamel, 2005; Kilzer, 2005; Mills, 2003). Although the percentage of women arrested has increased vis-à-vis men, the overwhelming number of IPV arrests involve a male perpetrator (e.g., 80% - 85% in California; California Department of Justice, 2002). These rates do not reflect the actual prevalence of IPV in the general population. Without question, men perpetrate by far the greater share of violent crimes (sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault) outside the home. Reports from the World Health Organization (Archer, 2006) also make it clear that in many countries around the world, particularly where women have little political or socioeconomic power, women represent the much larger share of IPV victims. However, the most reliable population surveys indicate that in Western industrialized democracies such as the United States and Canada, where they enjoy higher status, women engage in physical aggression at rates comparable to men (Archer, 2000; Fiebert, 2004; Straus & Gelles, 1990) and are as likely, or more likely, to be the initiators (DeMaris, 1992; Morse, 1995; Dutton et al., 1999; Straus, 1993; Williams & Frieze, 2005).

Is the disproportionate number of male arrests due to a bias among law enforcement agencies, or the fact that male victims are far more reluctant than female victims to call the police and therefore do not come to their attention? Previous research has supported both explanations. According to the National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), police are 3 times more likely to arrest when a female victim calls, and the National Family Violence Survey found that men were 3 times more likely than women to be arrested themselves after calling the police (Kelly, 2003). An Edmunton, Ontario, study (Brown, 2004) found that charges were filed in 91% of cases involving injury to a female, but in only 60% of cases involving injury to a man. Shernock's (2005) analysis of over 2000 IPV incidents in Vermont revealed that men were categorized as perpetrators 3.2 times more often than women on the initial police report, but subsequently arrested 9 times more often. At issue is the extent to which this pattern of gender bias reflects flawed "dominant aggressor" guidelines and assumptions about IPV based on discredited sociopolitical theories of patriarchy. One such assumption is that only men combine physical aggression with emotionally abusive and controlling behaviors (e.g., putting the partner down, isolating them from family and friends; Jacobsen & Gottman, 1998). In fact, women are just as likely to emotionally abuse and control

their partners as are men (Coker et al., 2002; Kasian & Painter, 1992; Stets, 1991). Studies that have investigated the use of physical and non-physical abuse within the same relationships find that women perpetrate this pattern of abuse in large numbers, at rates comparable to males (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005; Hines & Saudino, 2003; Laroche, 2005), and in surprisingly high numbers even among couples in which the man has been mandated to batterer intervention (Stacey et al., 1994). Still, it should be emphasized that men commit the vast preponderance of *sexual* violence (Hines & Saudino, 2003; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Emerging research, however, suggests that law enforcement responses may be moving towards gender neutrality (Buzawa, 2006). In fact, law enforcement in some jurisdictions are biased in the other direction. In Buzawa and Hotaling's (2006) Massachusetts study, female suspects accounted for only 22 percent of all suspects in their sample, yet when controlled for incident characteristics the odds were almost 2½ times higher that when a female was labeled as the suspect she was arrested. Overall, 75.5 percent of female suspects were arrested compared to 55.7 percent in incidents involving male suspects and this was the case regardless of whether the victim-suspect relationship was adult partner, sibling, parent or child. The authors point out that police were less likely to help male victims, and suggest that the higher rates of female arrests may be due to the greater scrutiny of females as a whole, regardless of victim or perpetrators status, because police view IPV as a "women's issue." This is unfortunate. Male victims have traditionally been reluctant to call law enforcement because they fear not being taken seriously and, at times, of actually being arrested themselves (Buzawa & Austin, 1993; Cook, 1997; Fontes, 2006; Migliaccio, 2002). As a result, their victimization is less likely to come to the attention of the police.

Children Disproportionately Targeted - About 2/3 of domestic assaults typically do not involve intimate partner relationships. An area that is in great need of attention is the criminalization of youth. Almost all states encompass children in definitions of domestic assault, yet children are disproportionately targeted for arrest. Research by Buzawa & Hotaling (2006) reports that controlling for incident characteristics, *the odds are about 3½ times higher that sons, daughters and siblings will be arrested in a domestic violence incident compared to other domestic violence victims.* The odds of arrest in incidents involving adult partners are significantly lower compared to incidents involving other relationships. *Further, sons and daughters were more likely to experience injury in disputes with parents and were much more likely to be threatened with harm.* When they themselves were complainants about parents, police were less likely to arrest the suspect. From their perspective, it would appear that certain family members can use threats and violence and others cannot. Their victimizations were also minimized. When juveniles were victimized, they typically received fewer forms of assistance from the police as well. This is particularly troublesome since offenses against juveniles are already considered to be the most underreported to the police (Finkelhor, Wolak, & Berliner, 2001).

Victims' wishes discounted - Under pro-arrest policies, someone arrested for IPV may be prosecuted without the cooperation, and even with the active opposition, of the victim. Intended to protect those who are fearful of retribution by their assailants, these policies have had unfortunate consequences. Mandatory arrest has only moderate positive effects on rates of recidivism overall and actually increases recidivism among low SES populations and repeat offenders (Mills, 2003). When victims have a choice on whether to prosecute, they are more likely to call domestic violence hotlines and report further offenses to the police, and recidivism rates decrease (Dutton & Corvo, 2005; Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003; Kelly, 2003). The failure to follow victim preferences has led to decreased reporting for future acts of abuse as victims have learned that they are disempowered by the criminal justice system (Buzawa, Hotaling, & Byrne, 2006). Further, victims often correctly identify the most dangerous batterers and correctly doubt the ability of the criminal justice system to protect them. Thus, there may be an inherent conflict between victim interest and society's interests in identifying and adjudicating batterers (Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003).

Policy recommendations

Law enforcement ought to enforce domestic violence legislation equitably across relationships and independent of race, age, gender, and socioeconomic status. Primary aggressor guidelines should be revisited, to incorporate all the ways by which individuals attempt to dominate one another through coercive control, and not be simply judged by the comparative sizes of the parties involved. Arrests should be made when there is clear evidence of violence and reason to believe that the victim is in danger, in accordance with victim preference, and/or with consideration given to the criminal history of the involved parties. Whether arrested or not, many domestic violence offenders do not re-offend. In one study, 8% of perpetrators accounted for 82% of subsequent arrests (Maxwell et al., 2001).

The average family dispute may not be part of a battering syndrome. IPV over time tends to decrease, rather than increase (Morse, 1995; O'Leary et al., 1989). When the violence is less serious, resulting in no or negligible injuries, appears to be mutual or when culpability cannot be determined by the police, an alternative to arrest would be for both individuals to be further assessed by trained a family violence specialist before charges are made. When there is a clear victim, his or her wishes on whether or not to prosecute should be carefully considered.

#2: Interventions

The facts

Limited to "one size fits all" group treatment approaches – The psychoeducational, same-gender group treatment mandated by most states - in particular the "Duluth" model based on feminist theories of patriarchy (Pence & Paymar, 1993) - have been shown by research to be only marginally effective in preventing further acts of violence against victims (Babcock et al, 2004). This may be partly due to the inherent limitations of such a modality, which treats only one family member and downplays the importance of risk factors such as personality disturbance and substance abuse; but a major drawback is the lack of adequate training for batterer intervention providers. Many states do not yet have standards for batterer intervention programs, and one may be certified to conduct batterer intervention groups without any mental health background whatsoever (Maiuro & Eberle, 2005). Equally problematic are that many states *do* have batterer program certification and very rigid standards, many of which view IPV within the ideological lenses of victim advocates and other special interests, and disregard or outright prohibit crucial and relevant areas of inquiry such as group dynamics, child development, family systems, personality disorders and psychopathology (Dutton and Corvo, in press; National Institute of Justice, 1998; Santa Clara Probation Department, 1997). This directly contradicts current research suggesting the need for typologizing offenders, and that "not one size fits all."

Couples counseling, which has been shown to be at least as effective and safe as group treatment (Brannen & Rubin, 1996; Dunford, 2000; Fals-Stewart et al., 2002; Heyman & Schlee, 2003; O'Leary et al., 1999; Stith et al, 2004), is prohibited in many states, as is family therapy or restorative justice interventions that involve the extended family and community (Grauwiler et al., 2006). Such prohibitions are extremely misguided, because domestic violence is usually mutual, and its dynamics involve reciprocal negative interactions among both partners (Babcock et al., 1993; Burman et al., 1992; Cordova et al., 1993; Margolin et al., 1989; Ridly & Feldman, 2003; Telch & Lindquist, 1984). When only one person is treated, there is therefore an increased risk that the violence will begin anew.

Overwhelmingly target men- The disparity between the genders is even greater among the number of individuals mandated to BIP's than it is among those initially arrested. In some counties within the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, women account for less than 5% of individuals mandated to BIP's (Simmerman, 2002). To some extent, this is because a number of

programs will not accept women, but a more likely explanation is that violence by women is not taken as seriously. By not holding physically aggressive women accountable to the same degree as their male counterparts, we are in essence fixing only part of the problem, and untreated women are left to continue their abuse, both towards their partners and towards their children.. Equally problematic are states that mandate that *all* offenders convicted of domestic assault be sent to batterer treatment. Thus, there have been reported cases of children sent to such programs, including one involving a 12 year old who through a pot at her mother.

Policy recommendations

The use of batterer treatment programs is rather unique to domestic violence. To give a program targeted for one specific type of offense such as battering to a diverse range of offenders, some with prior records for a variety of both violent and nonviolent offenses, may not be the most effective use of resources. Further, by not establishing consistent sanctions and treatment programs across criminal offenses as well as differentially assigning sentences and treatment programs to offenders, we are creating inequity. The need to address the individual needs of offenders would begin to redress and appropriately intervene with socially acceptable programs for all populations of violent individuals. The current failure at finding great success with batterer intervention programs is in large part a result of the failure to more appropriate target the needs of the individuals assigned to such programs.

Interventions in IPV ought to be based on the facts of each case, and determined by an assessment conducted by a qualified mental health professional with an expertise in family violence, who understands the complexities of IPV and its various subcategories and can take into account the physical and emotional safety of all victimized parties. The term "batterer intervention," which connotes work with chronic repeat offenders who exhibit a pattern of severe, systematic and unilateral abuse upon their victims, ought to be replaced with a term more inclusive of IPV in general – such as "domestic violence intervention" or "IPV intervention." Group treatment would be mandated for individuals who are no longer with their victimized partner, when couples or family counseling is contraindicated, or when group treatment would be the most efficient way to help the client take responsibility for their abuse. Couples or family counseling should be considered the treatment modality of choice when both partners agree to it, and when it can proceed without compromising the safety of victims and children. Offenders who stand not to benefit from either group or couples/family interventions due to a mental health problem may need individual psychotherapy.

To conduct individual, couples or family therapy, one would be required to be a licensed mental health professional. Minimal educational requirements for facilitating psychoeducational batterer intervention groups would be a bachelor's level degree in psychology or related field. Prospective facilitators would have to complete a training program in family violence, under the supervision of a mental health professional who is a certified batterer intervention provider as well as an expert in family violence. Training should include a didactic component as well as clinical field experience facilitating a group for at least 52 weeks, either with a co-facilitator present for all sessions or in conjunction with weekly consultation and supervision.

#3: Victim Services

The facts

Established organizations, such as the National Coalition against Domestic Violence and its state chapters, are geared towards helping women and disregard the needs of victimized men and their children. Out of nearly 2,000 domestic violence shelters in the United States, only a few accept male residents (Brown, 2006). Some shelters will assist the male victims who contact them, but usually by accident rather than design. Many states, including California, provide

funding under their health and welfare statures for programs to help female IPV victims, but specifically exclude men (California, 2006). Prior to its reauthorization in December, 2005, the National Violence against Women Act (VAWA) did not provide for services for male victims. Even with its newly acquired gender-inclusive language, the law's primary focus is evident in its title, the Violence against *Women* Act.

Victimized males do not have access to services because of the assumption that they are only minimally impacted by IPV, if at all. This assumption, however, runs contrary to an overwhelming body of research evidence. A significant minority of IPV-related physical injuries, between 25% and 43%, are incurred by men (Archer, 2000; Laroche, in preparation; Mirrlees-Black, 1999; Straus, 2004; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), and men are the victims in nearly a quarter of intimate homicides (Rennison, 2003). Abusive women are sometimes bigger and stronger than their male partners and can physically overpower them; more likely than not, they make up for their smaller size by using weapons and assaulting when their partners are preoccupied, asleep or inebriated (Cook, 1997; Hines et al., in press; Mann, 1988; McCleod, 1984; Shupe et al, 1987). Because of cultural norms that require men to suppress feelings and that minimize female-perpetrated abuse, male victims are reluctant to verbalize fear of any kind, even when their lives are in danger (Cook, 1997; Hines & Malley-Morisson, 2001; Migliaccio, 2002). Nonetheless, the much higher rates of fear expressed by female victims cannot be ascribed merely to a greater ease in disclosing feelings; women are indeed at greater risk of suffering serious physical injuries. In addition, there is no doubt that, compared to men, women evidence higher levels of psychological symptoms and stress-related issues as a result of being physically assaulted (Anderson, 2002; Straus & Gelles, 1990; Vivian & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1994; Williams & Frieze, 2005.) There is evidence to suggest, however, based on clinical samples and findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey, that the impact of *emotional* abuse and control may be more comparable between the genders (Pimlott-Kubiak & Cortina, 2003; Vivian & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1994).

Policy recommendations

IPV victims include men and women, as well as child witnesses. Services should therefore be available everyone affected regardless of gender or sexual orientation. Like their female counterparts, victimized males often require refuge in the form of a shelter bed, and/or counseling and peer support, legal aid, and job placement services.

Priority should be given to providing services to the most traumatically affected victims, and women are overall more likely to suffer severe injuries, but there is simply no excuse for refusing any victim services based upon their gender. Although battered women's advocates have expressed concerns about placing male and female victims together in one facility, a co-ed environment can in fact be effective and safe, as evidenced by the Antelope Valley Oasis shelter in Southern California (Ensign & Jones, 2006). When victimized men are denied services, their children are also denied services.

#4: Family law and Family Violence

The facts

IPV assumed to be male-perpetrated - Many states now incorporate into their family law statutes guidelines that discourage or prohibit violent parents from obtain custody of their children (National Council of Juvenile & Family Court Judges (1994). These guidelines are good in theory, but when improperly applied may result in substantial harm to children and families. Advocates for mothers (Silverman et al., 2004) argue that many fathers who have perpetrated IPV and child abuse are able to manipulate the courts to their advantage and obtain primary custody of their children; and advocates for fathers (e.g., Leving & Dachman, 1998)

present the same argument regarding abusive mothers. However, research efforts to resolve this issue have been decidedly skewed, concerned almost exclusively with finding evidence of abusive *fathers* gaining custody (Kernic et al., 2005; Morrill et al., 2005; Silverman et al., 2004).

It is also the case that parents for whom there exists little or no empirical evidence of abuse have been denied custody and visitation of their children via restraining orders due to mere allegations, or when the documented abuse is minor or situational (Epstein, 1993; Heleniak, 2005; Pearson, 1997). More often than not, these cases involve fathers rather than mothers, because many family court mediators, evaluators, attorneys and attorneys and judges share in the general assumptions that men are rarely victims and women rarely the dominant aggressors of IPV (Dutton, 2005). And when children favor one parent over the other, the courts struggle to determine whether this due to alienating behavior on the part of the aligned parent, or estrangement as a result of the child experiencing or witnessing abuse at the hands of the non-aligned parent (Drozd & Olesen, 2004; Johnston, 2001).

It has been well-established that children who have witnessed their parents physically abuse one another are at higher risk than other children for experiencing emotional problems, deterioration in peer and family relations, and poor school performance (Kitzmann et al., 2003; Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998). What is not often acknowledged is that they incur these problems regardless of the parent's gender, both in childhood (Johnston & Roseby, 1997; English et al., 2003) and adolescence (Fergusson & Horwood, 1998; Mahoney et al., 2003), and that there is a high correlation between perpetration of spousal abuse and child abuse for mothers as well as fathers (Appel & Holden, 1998; Margolin & Gordis, 2003; Straus & Smith, 1990). Violent mothers, in other words, are just as likely as violent fathers to directly assault their children if they have been violent towards their partner. Furthermore, correlational studies indicate that child witnesses to interparental violence are at equal, or greater, risk for becoming depressed, engaging in substance abuse and themselves perpetrating intimate partner abuse as adults when mother was the abuser (Kaura & Allen, 2004; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al, 1995; Straus, 1992). In spite of this research evidence, violent mothers are rarely mandated to anger management or batterer intervention programs.

Abuse of restraining orders - A number of states have made it easier for individuals, including litigants involved in a custody dispute, to obtain restraining orders and orders of protection against a violent partner or ex-partner. Only five states now define IPV as physical assaults; in a majority of states, restraining orders are granted to plaintiffs who fear the possibility of physical harm, or merely express such a fear (RADAR, 2006). Temporary orders can be granted without a defendant being present or even notified, and extended at subsequent hearings without the usual burden of proof required in criminal matters (Epstein, 1993; Heleniak, 2005). Once a restraining order is in place, even minor violations by the defendant can result in incarceration. When there is a credible threat, such orders may be helpful in protecting victims and lessening the likelihood of escalated interparental conflict. Research, however, indicates that restraining orders are ineffective in preventing assaults by individuals with a history of chronic, severe battering (Mills, 2003). Too often, restraining orders and orders of protection are used as a means for one parent to punish and control the other, and obtain custody of the children.

IPV given greater priority than child abuse or other dysfunction – The focus on IPV should not detract from other problems that directly affect one's parenting abilities and are harmful to children, such as alcohol or drug abuse, or mental illness such as depression. Also minimized is direct child abuse, which is perpetrated at much higher rates than IPV and more often by mothers, (Gaudioso, 2005; Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996; Trocme, 2001), and is at least as detrimental to children as witnessing interparental violence (Kitzmann et al, 2003; Salzinger et al., 2002). In California, for instance, where psychoeducational group intervention is mandated for both child abuse and IPV, the number of IPV groups greatly outnumber those for offending parents, despite the fact that physical child abuse is far more prevalent than interparental violence (Straus & Gelles, 1990). There is evidence that verbal and emotional abuse directed by a parent against a child may cause the greatest damage (Dutton, 1998; English et al., 2003;

Moore & Pepler, 1998). Family violence is in fact at complex phenomenon, characterized by a variety of possible pathways of abuse, often reciprocal, sometimes initiated by the children; with stress a central mediator; the "battering dad" pattern is only one of many possible patterns of family violence, and far less prevalent than mutual IPV by parents who are both also abusing the children (Slep & O'Leary, 2005).

Policy recommendations

Increasingly, family court professionals are required to obtain specialized training in IPV theory, assessment and intervention. Such training should be conducted by qualified instructors who are familiar with the full range of family violence research, and not by narrow special interest groups such as battered women advocates or men's rights organizations. A substantial part of the training ought to include a discussion of IPV subtypes and the spectrum of abuse (Babcock et al., 2003; Graham-Kevan, 2006; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994). For instance, research has shown that a great number of child custody cases with IPV involve one-time situational abuse, where the children are less likely to be further exposed once the parents have separated (Johnston & Campbell, 1993). Also crucial to any comprehensive training would be an in-depth examination of assessment procedures, including the use of proven, validated instruments (Austin, 2001; Nicholls et al., 2006), as well as established protocols for distinguishing between cases involving abuse, alienation and estrangement (Drozd & Olesen, 2004).

Children are traumatized in many ways, not only by having observed or experienced abuse. When the court system takes the extraordinary step to deny a parent visitation and custody of his or her child, it ought to be based on substantiated evidence, and the risk that a parent poses to his or her children due to their violence ought to be greater than the detrimental effects posed by an unwanted separation. The granting of restraining orders should be based on credible threats to the victim's safety, not simply on their expressed level of fear.

#5: Prevention, Education and Outreach

The facts

Dissemination of misleading and false information - The shortcoming in IPV public policy with respect to law enforcement responses, intervention, victim services and family law, are largely attributable to the frequently misleading, and outright false, information currently available to policy makers (American Bar Association, 2006; National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2006; Dekeseredy, 2002; Kimmel, 2001). Not surprisingly, this misinformation also informs national and local public education, prevention and outreach efforts. Consequently, the public is given a distorted picture of IPV. The "face" of IPV, from informational posters and other materials, is typically a bruised and frightened woman, cowering in a corner with her children around her. Television specials and motion picture films on IPV very rarely feature male victims. Intervention and prevention programs in school settings focus on male-perpetrated dating violence (Cascardi & Avery-Leaf, 2000) in spite of the fact that female-perpetrated IPV is highest among adolescents and young adults (Laroche, 2005; Morse, 1995; Straus & Gelles, 1990).

Domination by special interests - The organizations responsible for advising legislators and other policy makers on IPV, including state domestic violence coalitions, for the most part represent the interests of abused women rather than those of all victims. These organizations justify their focus on women victims by citing data that skew the research in their favor. The website of the National Coalition against Domestic Violence (2006), for instance, states that 85% of IPV victims are female. Claims that 85% of intimate partner abuse is committed by males upon their female partners are based either on government studies reporting

the number of individuals arrested for spousal abuse, or on crime surveys. These sources of data are highly unreliable: The number of individuals arrested for spousal abuse does not reflect the actual numbers of perpetrators in the population; and crime surveys tend to inhibit honest disclosure by respondents, especially by men who, because of cultural conditioning, typically do not view violence directed against them by a female partner as a crime. The best designed studies, which encourage honest responses, almost without exception find that in intimate relationships men and women assault one another at approximately equal rates. (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Straus, 1999).

Policy recommendations

Family violence prevention, education and outreach ought to be gender-inclusive, and take into account the wealth of accumulated research evidence. To ensure that public policy will no longer be shaped exclusively by special interest groups, state domestic violence boards ought to include a broad representation of family violence-related organizations, among them treatment providers and other mental health professionals, victim advocates and shelter workers, child advocates, criminologists and research scholars. By increasing our knowledge base and assuring that we draw from a wider pool of experience and expertise, these changes should dramatically improve our abilities to effectively reduce family violence in our communities.

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Domestic Violence and Child Custody

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At Family Court Services, Joanna Levy requests to meet separately with Lauren, the child custody mediator, expressing a fear of being in the same room with her husband, Barry, whom she characterizes as a highly controlling man who physically and emotionally abused her throughout their 8-year marriage. "He yells, puts me down constantly," she says. "Always criticizing. Nothing I do is ever good enough. I have to beg for grocery money." Upon further questioning, Joanna elaborates on her husband's emotional neediness, the constant demands. "The last straw," she says, "was when he beat me up. I felt like a rag doll, yanked around the living room like that."

The month before, at a seminar conducted by the local battered women's shelter, Lauren had learned that the unilateral use of physical violence and controlling behavior, along with the fear that they engender in their victims, are defining characteristics of male batterers. In her meeting with Barry, the mediator is struck by how closely he fits the batterer profile, first by denying having engaged in any abuse himself; and, secondly, by claiming abuse on the part of the victim. "Maybe she's bipolar, or something," Barry suggests. "I mean, if anyone needs therapy it's *her*." Trying to make the victim think she's crazy, Lauren remembers, is one of the battering tactics from the "Power and Control Wheel" presented at the training. Lauren recommends to the Court that custody of the children be granted to the mother, and that the father enroll in a 52-week Domestic Violence Batterer program. When he is informed by his attorney that he is allowed only a one-hour weekly visit with the children, supervised by a court-approved agency, Barry gets on the phone and screams at his ex. Consequently, a restraining order is placed against him.

Eight months later, an extensive custody evaluation reveals that Joanna has been previously treated for Borderline Personality Disorder. Employment records, and interviews with extended family members and their last marriage therapist support Barry's characterization of her as volatile and abusive. Barry had yelled at his wife on numerous occasions, but his criticisms were hardly gratuitous – e.g., in response to her inattention to the children's needs and refusal to cooperate with the finances. His decision to take control of the money was made after she squandered $75,000 of the family income on personal vacations and shopping sprees. And in the "rag doll" incident, the children confirm that their father was merely defending himself against an onslaught of kicks and punches by the mother who, in the past, had also slapped their oldest daughter.

How could a case could be so poorly assessed, causing a father to lose access to his children and be forcibly separated and remanded to an extended program of batterer treatment while a neglectful, abusive mother is regarded as the victimized partner? The obvious answer would be a lack of adequate assessment tools and procedures. However, in the case above it will be argued that the mediator was also *predisposed* to arrive at the conclusions she drew. It will be shown that the bias she demonstrated cannot be attributed merely to procedural flaws, but rather to the *gender paradigm*, also known as the *patriarchal paradigm*, the dominant model of domestic violence etiology and intervention that has shaped public policy for the past 25 years.

A product of ideological feminism and the experiences of case workers in the women's shelter movement of the 70's, the patriarchal paradigm posits that intimate partner abuse - physical, sexual and emotional - is perpetrated almost exclusively by males upon their female partners, and that it is used to maintain "male privilege" in a male-dominated society that sanctions such behavior (e.g., Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Thus men account for over 80% of spousal abuse arrests in California (California Department of Justice, 2002), and in some counties they comprise 95% of participants in a batterer intervention program (Simerman, 2002).

In this paper, we will echo Dutton's (2005) contention that research does not support the gender/patriarchal paradigm. We will additionally show that more recent offshoots of this model, such as those based on the work of Michael Johnson (Johnson & Leone, 2005), are also inadequate and misleading, and that the unquestioned adoption of these paradigms by many family court professionals has not been in the best interests of children and their families. It has, we believe, led to assessment bias, an overemphasis on male-perpetrated violence, and a general overemphasis on intimate partner abuse over other types of family dysfunction, including the direct abuse of children.

Findings from the Child Custody Literature

In the past 10 years, an increasing body of research has documented the substantial and far-reaching effects that witnessing intimate partner abuse has on children. Between 80%-90% of children in violent homes are aware of the interparental violence (Jaffe, Wolfe & Wilson, 1990), and estimates on the number child witnesses range from three million (Bancroft & Silverman, 2002) to 10 million per year (Straus, 1992). Such children are at much higher risks than children from non-violent households for exhibiting internalizing symptoms such as depression and PTSD, as well as a variety of externalizing symptoms, among them conduct disorder and school problems (Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998). As a result, the issue of interparental violence has become an increasingly important consideration in disputed child custody cases, as the Model Code of the National Council of Juvenile & Family Court Judges makes clear:

> In every proceeding where there is at issue a dispute as to the custody of a child, a determination by the court that domestic or family violence has occurred raises a rebuttable presumption that it is detrimental to the child and not in the best interest of the child to be placed in sole custody, joint legal custody, or joint physical custody with the perpetrator of family violence (Model Code 401, quoted in Jaffe & Geffner, 1998, p. 373).

The gender-neutral language of the Code, however, belies the assumption among many researchers and family court professionals, that perpetrators are primarily fathers. Peter Jaffe and Robert Geffner, two of the most respected researchers in the field of family violence, state unequivocally that :

> Although the terms *family violence* and *domestic violence* are commonly used, the most accurate term is *maltreatment of women and children*, because women and children represent the vast majority of victims. Men are also abused, but in most instances, men's violence against women creates greater injury, pain, and suffering, and a large proportion of women's violence toward men is in self-defense (p. 374).

As we will see shortly, the general domestic violence literature does not support these conclusions. Even within the disputed child custody literature, the findings are weak and contradictory. In a review by Logan, Jordan and Horvath (2002) of 82 cases adjudicated in one Kentucky jurisdiction between 1997 and 1998, it was determined that in cases where partner violence was documented in the court record, fathers had perpetrated 57% of the assaults, compared to 19% for fathers in the non-DV group; and mothers had perpetrated 35% of the assaults, compared to 11%. The usefulness of these results are questionable, however, given the infrequent use by the participating evaluators of either formal psychological testing or collateral sources – or any mention of any specialized domestic violence questionnaires or protocols. The national survey of 115 evaluators by Bow and Boxer (2003) found that 37% of child custody referrals involved allegations of partner violence. Of these, 51% of the abuse (including physical aggression, emotional abuse, and controlling behavior) was alleged to be male-instigated, 17% bidirectional but mostly male-instigated, 14% bidirectional and mutual, 11% female-instigated, and 7% bidirectional but mostly female-instigated. Asked to cite the signs or characteristics with which to substantiate the abuse allegations, 60% of the respondents listed shame, guilt, fear, low self-esteem, financial vulnerability or inability to leave – none of which necessarily point to victimization, but may be signs of perpetration (Dutton, 1998), or simply symptoms of being involved in a highly-charged child custody dispute. In fact, only 31% of he evaluators secured independent confirmation by eyewitness reports, police records, etc, and only 30% said they used a comprehensive violence risk assessment model such as Austin's (2001), or any type of domestic violence questionnaire (e.g., 20% used the Spousal Abuse Risk Assessment). A recent review of 400 mediation reports in San Diego (Johnson, Saccuzo and Koen, 2005) found 200 cases involving domestic violence, of which the father was the clear perpetrator in 80 of them. No information was given regarding rates of female-perpetrated or mutual abuse.

In the Portland and Minneapolis study by Newmark, Harrell and Salem (1995), which utilized the Conflict Tactics Scale, the most widely-used instrument for measuring extent of partner violence, 80% of the women and 72% of the men claimed to have been physically assaulted by their ex partners. Men reported somewhat less incidents of physical intimidation and overall physical abuse, but similar rates of severe violence involving the use of weapons. In perhaps the most thoroughly investigated sample of disputed child custody cases involving partner abuse, using a variety of well-established questionnaires, Johnston and Campbell (1989) found an equal number of cases in which the mother (13.5%) and the father (13.6%) had been the dominant aggressors throughout the relationship, and another 19.3% that involved a pattern of mutual violence. In a small number of cases (5.7%) the violence was due to severe psychopathology. Most significantly, in almost half (46.7%) of the relationships, there had been no history of violence until the period of separation and divorce.

The disputed child custody literature also yields contradictory findings with respect to the importance that domestic violence is given by evaluators. A review of 60 disputed child custody cases in Florida (Sorensen, 1995) found that judges are highly reluctant to award custody to parents who had been accused of child or partner abuse, even with little or no corroboration. Johnson, Saccuzo and Koen (2005) found that some form of joint physical custody arrangement was recommended in 17.3% of cases involving domestic violence, versus 25.2% in those that did not. In the survey by Ackerman and Ackerman (1996), only 28% of the evaluators cited partner abuse as a reason for denying joint custody, while 76% cited a parent's alienation tactic of exaggerating abuse by the other. "In our professional experience in over 20 years of completing

custody and visitation assessments," Jaffe and Geffner (1998) write, "the nonidentification of domestic violence in divorce cases is the source of the real problems that occur" (p. 381).

However, the "real problem" is assumed to be nonidentification *specifically of male-perpetrated* violence. Of particular concern is research showing that fathers with a violent history may sometimes secure custody of the children. The true extent of the problem is difficult to ascertain. Most of this research is based on interviews with battered women and selected, non-scientific case reports (e.g., Liss & Stahly, 1993; Zorza,1995), and murky about the amount of custody these fathers are able to secure, the extent to which they are violent, whether the violence was mutual, and the presence in the partner of possibly more serious problems, such as drug abuse. Some studies presume "battering" from the existence of restraining orders alone (e.g., Morrill, Dai, Dunn, Sung & Smith, 2005; Rosen & O'Sullivan, 2005), even though restraining orders are liberally issued, and are unreliable indicators of actual violence (e.g., Epstein, 1993). Thus, a case in which a father may have perpetrated one minor act of violence (e.g., grabbing) in a mutually abusive, high-conflict relationship, and was able to increase his custody time from one hour to two hours a week, could be cited as an example of a "battering dad" who "gets custody" of his children. A somewhat more sophisticated case review, conducted by Kernic and her colleagues in Portland (Kernic, Monary-Ernsdorff, Koepsell & Holt, 2005), indicates that even when a victimized mother secures primary custody, the abusive father may be allowed unsupervised visitation, often without having to complete a batterer treatment program. Not clear is how many of these fathers continued to pose a threat to their ex or to their children; but for those who did, no one would disagree that visitation, if any, should have been highly restricted until these men could demonstrate significant behavior change.

There is evidence that certain male batterers are highly manipulative and can effectively project a nonabusive image (Bow & Boxer, 2003; Jacobsen & Gottman, 1998); while their victims may, as a result of the anxiety, depression and other psychological consequences of the abuse, appear to be a less "fit" parent (Kernic et al., 2005). Their victims often relent out of fear of further abuse, and because they are economically dependent. When mothers attempt to leave the abuser, they sometimes will find resistance among their children, who miss their friends and neighborhood, and who will even blame the mother for the abuse (Jaffe & Geffner, 1998). Other research, however, indicates that mothers litigating custody may not be so disadvantaged. In one survey female respondents indicated that they felt as empowered vis-à-vis their ex as the male respondents, and far more empowered by the court system (Newmark, Harrell & Salem, 1995).

To what extent false or exaggerated claims of abuse are used to secure custody and alienate the children from the father is still open to debate. Gardner (1992) and Turkat (1995) argue for high rates of alienation, primarily by mothers. Friedman (2004) has identified a sub-group of alienating mothers with what he calls counterdependent-borderline personality traits, who vigorously and effectively pursue their custody rights regardless of the level of pathology they may exhibit. Within Johnston and Campbell's 1989-1990 sample (Johnston and Campbell, 1993), 13% of the parents had filed false or exaggerated domestic violence claims, at a rate seven times more often by mothers compared to fathers. Johnston, Lee, Olesen and Gans Walters (2005) found higher substantiated rates of "adult abuse" by fathers than by mothers; however, the degree of partner violence versus substance abuse was not clarified. Also, as with other child custody studies, this was a non-random study that may not generalize beyond the particular sample, criteria for substantiation were not standardized, and "the range or degree of severity of the abuse was not rated" (p. 16).

Lack of attention and ignorance are the primary reasons given for the failure to properly identify interparental violence in disputed child custody cases. According to Logan et al. (2002):

> The frame of reference for custody evaluations is grounded in divorce literature from family studies disciplines that, with few exceptions (Saposnek, 1998), often do not even reference domestic violence...The family studies literature primarily focuses on "normal" divorce processes and has not fully acknowledged or integrated research findings from domestic violence studies (Logan et al., 2002, p. 737).

Findings from the General Domestic Violence Literature

Not under investigation – the proverbial "elephant in the middle of the room" - is the extent to which battering *moms* get custody, because mothers are a priori ruled out as perpetrators. The nonidentification of domestic violence may indeed be a major problem, but with respect to *female* abusers, as well as male. It cannot be assumed (Jaffe and Geffner, 1998) that when children blame the mother for father's violence, they are always wrong. Some mothers who are not physically assaultive engage in high levels of emotional abuse and controlling behaviors, while others are the primary, or sole perpetrators of physical assaults (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Hamel, in press; Hamel, 2005). Family court professionals may indeed have not previously "acknowledged or integrated research findings from domestic violence studies." However, to the extent that they now *are* acknowledging studies on partner violence, it has been outdated and misleading research that they have drawn upon. Prevalence rates indicating rates of male-perpetrated abuse at 85% to 95% of total assaults, are based on unreliable crime surveys and samples of battered women, which are inherently limited. Representative population surveys consistently show that intimate partner abuse is perpetrated by men and women at equal rates, initiated as often by women as by men, rarely in self-defense, and typically caused by psychopathology, stress and previous history of violence rather than patriarchal factors (Dutton & Nichols, 2005).

Women certainly bear the greater share of physical injuries, but at a rate of between 2:1 (Archer, 2000) and 4:1 (Tjaden & Thoenes, 1998) over men, and not the often-cited but misleading 7:1 rate, which actually measured medical help-seeking behavior, not injuries per se (Straus & Gelles, 1990). And although women suffer the greater share of psychological distress when victimized by partner *violence*, men and women are equally impacted by partner *abuse* (Pimlott-Kubiak & Cortina, 2003).

A recent offshoot of the gender-patriarchal paradigm, based largely upon the work of Michael Johnson (Johnson, 2005; Johnson & Leone, 2005), acknowledges that women initiate intimate partner violence as often as men, but only the less serious, conflict-related type he calls "common couple violence" or "situational violence." More serious violence, resulting in greater injuries and motivated by misogynistic attitudes and a perpetrator's use of abusive and controlling behaviors to dominate the partner - what Johnson calls "intimate terrorism," or "patriarchal terrorism, " and what others would simply call "battering" - is assumed to be perpetrated almost entirely by men (see table 1 for list of abuse and control tactics). In the disputed custody literature (e.g., Bancroft & Silverman, 2002; Dalton, 1999), these assumptions, mistaken as they are, are even further distorted. Thus, violence by women is not only dismissed or marginalized as "expressive," but men's violence is conceptualized in every case as coercive or "instrumental," despite Johnson's own admission that "situational violence" represents the far

greatest share of the total. An example is Dalton's (1999) critique of Johnston and Campbell's (1993) failure to identify the men involved in mutual violence as "batterers."

The increasing acceptance of Johnson's typology should be of concern not simply because it is simplistic, ignoring for example impulsive violence characteristic of those with Borderline Personality Disorder (Dutton, 2005), but also because his conclusions regarding gender are based on biased samples. Johnson cites data from Pittsburgh in claiming that men comprise fully 97% of intimate terrorists, then cites research by Graham-Kevan and Archer (2003) as evidence for an 87% rate. However, Johnson fails to mention that a large proportion of the women surveyed in the Pittsburgh sample were battered women, and that the Graham-Kevan and Archer sample involved battered women and male prison inmates. Johnson conveniently omits any reference to a follow-up study by these same researchers. Using a more representative community sample (college students and faculty in the U.K.), they found rates of 9% for male intimate terrorists and 13% for female intimate terrorists, based upon Johnson's own criteria

The assertion that "only men are controlling" is simply that – an assertion. The few studies in which questions regarding the use of abuse and control tactics have been posed to both male and female respondents dispute this claim. From a population of 6002 couples survey in the second National Family Violence Survey, Straus and Gelles (1990) found rates of verbal and symbolic abuse (e.g., throwing things) to be the same across gender (between 6-8 incidents per year). In a survey of college students (Straus, 2001), the men reported having perpetrated 15.1 incidents of verbal, symbolic and emotional abuse upon their female partners in the past year; the rate reported by the women was 16.0. Kasian and Painter's (1992) survey of a dating population (N= 1,625) found higher levels of the following tactics to be used by women: general control, jealousy, verbal abuse and withdrawal. No differences were found for use of diminishment of self-esteem, a category which includes put-downs, ridicule, etc.

Even among populations of men arrested for spousal abuse, women engage in high levels of abusive and controlling behaviors. For instance, in the Stacey, Hazelwood and Shupe Texas study (1994), the female victims actually scored higher on perpetration of 4 of the 13 items (deny rights to privacy, deny access to family, withdraw emotionally to punish, withhold sex to punish); and there were only slight differences among the genders for the following items: deny freedom of activities, deny access to friends, deny access to money, deny financial input and censor phone calls, etc. Stalking, when coupled with an immediate physical threat, is more often perpetrated by men, but within the broader category of stalking behaviors known as obsessional relational intrusion (e.g., repeated, unwanted phone calls) gender differences tend to disappear (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen and Rohling, 2000; Spitzberg & Rhea, 1999; Tjaden and Thoennes, 1998.) Among the various abuse and control tactics, only sexual coercion appears to be perpetrated primarily by males. And sexual coercion rates are more comparable when non-violent tactics are measured, such as taking advantage of someone while they are intoxicated, threatening to smear them as impotent or gay, etc. (Busby & Compton, 1997; O'Sullivan, Byers and Finkelman, 1998; Waldner-Haugrud & Magruder, 1995).

Johnson also neglected to report on Coker et al's (2002) re-analysis of the 1998 National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS). Johnson previously had found high rates of intimate terrorism for men based upon data given by the female victims; however, he chose to ignore the data given by the male victims (Johnson, 2000). Following up on Johnson's work and looking at *all* of the NVAWS data, Coker and her colleagues (2002) found lifetime rates of power and control victimization for men and women to be nearly identical (6.8% vs. 6.9%, respectively), and incidence of verbal abuse and jealousy/ possessiveness victimization to be

twice as high for the male victims (10.5% vs. 5.2%). The number of female terrorists in Canada, from a general population survey of nearly 26,000 people (LaRoche, 2005), was determined to be around 2% of the population; male terrorists represented 3%. This translates to the percentage of male terrorists at approximately 60% of that category. Whether we accept this data, or the Graham-Kevan and Archer data which suggests a 50% greater incidence of partner terrorism by females, the number of "patriarchal" male terrorists is far less than the 97%, or even 87% figures claimed by Johnson. The overall rate for both genders is, of course, very low compared to rates for less severe, mutual violence.

There is a distinction between abuse and control *tactics*, as discussed above, and the overall level of power wielded by individuals in a given relationship. Proponents of the patriarchal/gender paradigm would argue that men have the greater power by virtue of living in a patriarchal society in which men have greater access to economic and political resources (e.g., Pagelow, 1981). This argument, too, has little basis in fact. Felson (2002) correctly points out that institutional power does not necessarily trickle down to the individual husband, and that some women wield considerable power by dint of their personality, control over the children, and the extent to which they are valued and desired. One series of questions in the second National Family Violence Survey (Coleman & Straus, 1990) sought to determine the number of male-dominated vs. female-dominated households, asking "who has the final say" in buying a car, having children, what house or apartment to take, what job either partner should take, whether a partner should go to work or quit work, and how much money to spend each week on food. The overwhelming number of households were found to be equalitarian in decision-making. Male-dominant households represented only 9% of the total; and 8% were female-dominated, a slight difference indeed, especially considering that this data is now 20 years old and a greater number of households can be presumed to be female dominated or equalitarian. Similarly, research supports gender-comparable rates of *lack* of decision-making power among litigants in disputed child-custody cases (Newmark et al., 1995).

This is not to imply that "all domestic violence is the same." The "fear factor" is an important consideration, particularly for safety planning or when choosing a treatment modality. Women certainly express a greater fear of physical harm. It is true that fear has a large subjective dimension (e.g., previously-victimized women may express fear when there are no objective reasons why they should), and that men are reluctant to compromise their socially-sanctioned roles as strong and masculine (e.g., Cook, 1997; Miggliacio, 2002). However, given that they indeed suffer two-thirds of physical injuries, more women, on average, have reason to fear a partner's physical assaults, or threats of assault, than the reverse (Follingstad, Wright, Lloyd & Sebastian, 1991; Morse, 1995). To what extent, and exactly how, the "fear factor" should be factored into future attempts to typologize partner violence is uncertain.

Of greater significance to family court cases, research indicates that *regardless of the perpetrator's gender, children and adolescents are adversely affected by witnessing interparental violence* (English, Marshall & Stewart, 2003; Fergusson & Horwood, 1998; Johnston & Roseby, 1997; Mahoney, Donnelly, Boxer & Lewis, 2003), and at risk to perpetrate partner abuse in adulthood (Kaura & Allen, 2004; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Neidig & Thorn, 1995; Sommer, 1994; Straus, 1992). Furthermore, mothers who hit their partners have just as much of an increased risk of hitting their children as partner-violent fathers (Appel & Holden, 1998; Margolin & Gordis, 2003; Straus & Smith, 1990). Mothers who are violent towards their children may sometimes be "battered wives," as is often assumed, but more often than not are perpetrators of partner abuse (English et al., 2003). It has not been determined whether direct

child abuse is more detrimental on children than witnessing interparental violence (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt & Kenny, 2003), but several studies have found that children are far more adversely affected by mother's verbal abuse than by witnessing partner violence by either the mother (English et al., 2003) or by the father (Moore & Pepler, 1998). Furthermore, some children may be as, or more affected by non-physical parental *conflict*. For instance, Grych & Fincham (1998) found that children from either high conflict or violent homes exhibited the same kinds of internalizing and externalizing problems; and in a national longitudinal study involving 682 children, Litrownik et al. (Litrownik, Newton, Hunter, English & Everson, 2003) found that parents who verbally and emotionally abused each other were more likely to physically abuse their children than parents who engaged in interparental violence. According to Wolak and Finkelhor (1998):

> Pervasive conflict that takes the form of overt verbal hostility *or* violence harms children by causing stress, impairing effective parent-child relationships, and training children to be aggressive. Overall, children from violent homes appear to be at greater risk for showing clinical-level behavioral and emotional problems, but it is likely that some symptoms are caused by the conflict and not necessarily the violence (pp. 91-92).

New Trends in Child Custody Assessment

In light of these findings, the focus on male-perpetrated abuse is clearly misplaced. It might seem astounding at how such a large, convincing body of research could be almost entirely overlooked. But among those of us who have worked with both male and female perpetrators and have explored in depth the existing family violence literature, this oversight is, sadly, very much the norm. What is generally taught in the domestic violence field, and by extension to family court professionals, continues to be framed within the construct of a radical form of feminism that favors political correctness over scientifically-sound, empirically-based procedures for conducting research, and for conducting assessments.

Donald Dutton, one of the most prolific and respected researchers in the field of family violence, writes:

> It appears to me that a scholarly paradigm has developed where the same group of authors mutually cites each others work and generate one model of family violence; the father is the batterer, the mother is the victim, the child is victimized by observation of the father's violence. This is the essence of an academic paradigm. A social reality is created that directs belief and focus of future research and disregards conflicting data (Dutton, 2005, p. 8)

Such pervasive research bias can be found in numerous studies, sometimes blatantly so, such as the 2005 special issue of *Violence Against Women*, in which none of the four showcased studies looked at female-perpetrated abuse. Sometimes the bias is more subtle, as in the case review by Logan et al. (2002), which cites research by Weitzman (1985) purporting to prove that women suffer a substantial decrease in their standard of living (alleged to be 73%) following divorce; but neglects to mention that these findings were later found to be grossly inaccurate, and that Weitzman herself admitted to have been in error (McNeely, 1998). Throughout their article, Logan et al. frame the problem of domestic violence as one of male perpetrators and female

victims, despite their own findings, flawed as they were, indicating a substantial amount of violence perpetrated by women. In light of this bias, we can better understand the recommendations of the mediator in the case study presented at the beginning of this paper. Again, quoting Dutton:

> What is problematic about Jaffe et al.'s analysis, and the others we will review below, is that while their description of the actions and consequences of abuse on the child are accurate, there is a priming of assessors to look only at the male as the abuse perpetrator, and having done so to suspect his denial of abuse. Denial of abuse will not exonerate him because really abusive men deny abuse as well...No algorithim is provided through which the truth might mystically emerge. Essentially the authors develop skepticism about male accounts and then advise the evaluator to use a clinical judgment already primed to disbelieve the alleged perpetrator (pp. 4-5).

Beginning with Gould's *Conducting Scientifically-Crafted Child Custody Evaluations* (Gould, 1998), a handful of books and articles have emerged, outlining specific protocols for assessing family violence in the context of disputed child custody. In his upcoming book, Gould (Gould & Martindale, in preparation) warns of the limitations of Bancroft and Silverman's (2002) assessment model, which was developed from studies with battered women in shelters. Austin (2001) outlines six evaluation dimensions (temporal, sex or perpetrator and causal direction of violence, severity of physical harm, type of aggression, presence of major risk factors, and children exposed to the violence) which have the advantage of placing abuse on a continuum, rather than in discrete categories such as those of Janet Johnston or Michael Johnson. Furthermore, Austin challenges the preoccupation with male-perpetrated violence that has marred the protocols suggested by Jaffe and Geffner (1998), and has cautioned evaluators to keep in mind the complex dynamics of partner violence – e.g., pointing out that in some cases physical abuse is met by verbal abuse, or the reverse. And recently, Drozd and Olesen (2004) have put forth guidelines in the form of a "decision tree," in which the evaluator is helped to distinguish between the differing phenomena of abuse, alienation, estrangement, sabotage and protective parenting. The importance of such guidelines and protocols cannot be exaggerated, because how well a custody evaluation is conducted bears directly on what is recommended with respect to custody and interventions for the family. Johnston et al. (2005) write:

> In collaboration with community services, family courts will need to set explicit behavioral goals and treatment contracts with families who are court-ordered to interventions. Custody evaluators need to make specific recommendations to this end. The needs of families and their prognosis for change must be triaged and carefully matched with scarce resources that are appropriate to the need (p. 19).

It has been the author's experience, having for the past 12 years conducted family violence assessments, and having provided batterer intervention and parenting counseling services, to individuals referred through the family court system in the San Francisco Bay Area, that the needs of these families have *not*, on the whole, been "triaged and carefully matched with scarce resources." In particular, it seems that allegations of domestic violence against fathers are taken more seriously than those made against mothers. As previously mentioned, women are mandated to batterer intervention in numbers far less than the actual number of female batterers

in the general population. Whether this holds for mothers involved in disputed child custody cases is a hypothesis that ought to be tested through further research.

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REFERENCES EXAMINING ASSAULTS BY WOMEN ON THEIR SPOUSES OR MALE PARTNERS: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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SUMMARY: This bibliography examines 206 scholarly investigations: 159 empirical studies and 47 reviews and/or analyses, which demonstrate that women are as physically aggressive, or more aggressive, than men in their relationships with their spouses or male partners. The aggregate sample size in the reviewed studies exceeds 197,900.

Aizenman, M., & Kelley, G. (1988). The incidence of violence and acquaintance rape in dating relationships among college men and women. Journal of College Student Development, 29, 305-311. (A sample of actively dating college students <204 women and 140 men> responded to a survey examining courtship violence. Authors report that there were no significant differences between the sexes in self reported perpetration of physical abuse.)

Archer, J. (2000). Sex differences in aggression between heterosexual partners: A meta-analytic review. Psychological Bulletin, 126, 651-680. (Meta-analyses of sex differences in physical aggression indicate that women were more likely than men to "use one or more acts of physical aggression and to use such acts more frequently." In terms of injuries, women were somewhat more likely to be injured, and analyses reveal that 62% of those injured were women.)

Archer, J. (2002). Sex differences in physically aggressive acts between heterosexual partners: A meta-analytic review. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 7, 213-351. (Analyzing responses to the Conflict Tactic Scale and using a data set somewhat different from the previous 2000 publication, the author reports that women are more likely than men to throw something at their partners, as well as slap, kick, bite, punch and hit with an object. Men were more likely than women to strangle, choke, or beat up their partners.)

Archer, J., & Ray, N. (1989). Dating violence in the United Kingdom: a preliminary study. Aggressive Behavior, 15, 337-343. (Twenty three dating couples completed the Conflict Tactics scale. Results indicate that women were significantly more likely than their male partners to express physical violence. Authors also report that, "measures of partner agreement were high" and that the correlation between past and present violence was low.)

Arias, I., Samios, M., & O'Leary, K. D. (1987). Prevalence and correlates of physical aggression during courtship. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2, 82-90. (Used Conflict Tactics Scale with a sample of 270 undergraduates <95 men, 175 women> and found 30% of men and 49% of women reported using some form of aggression in their dating histories with a greater percentage of women engaging in severe physical aggression.)

Arias, I., & Johnson, P. (1989). Evaluations of physical aggression among intimate dyads. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 4, 298-307. (Used Conflict Tactics Scale-CTS- with a sample of 103 male and 99 female undergraduates. Both men and women had similar experience with dating violence, 19% of women and 18% of men admitted being physically aggressive. A significantly greater percentage of women thought self-defense was a legitimate reason for men to be aggressive, while a greater percentage of men thought slapping was a legitimate response for a man or woman if their partner was sexually unfaithful.)

Arriaga, X. B., & Foshee, V. A. (2004). Adolescent dating violence. Do adolescents follow in their friends' or their parents' footsteps? Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19, 162-184. (A modified version of Conflict Tactics Scale was administered on two occasions, 6 months apart, to 526 adolescents, <280 girls, 246 boys> whose median age was 13. Results reveal that 28% of girls reported perpetrating violence with their partners <17% moderate, 11% severe> on occasion one, while 42% of girls reported perpetrating violence <25% moderate, 17% severe> on occasion two. For boys, 11% reported perpetrating violence <6% moderate, 5% severe> on occasion one, while 21% reported perpetrating violence <6% moderate, 15% severe> on occasion two. In terms of victimization, 33% of girls, and 38% of boys reported being victims of partner aggression on occasion one and 47% of girls and 49% of boys reported victimization on occasion two.

Basile, S. (2004). Comparison of abuse by same and opposite-gender litigants as cited in requests for abuse prevention orders. Journal of Family Violence, 19, 59-68. (Author examined court documents in Massachusetts for the year 1997 and found that, "male and female defendants, who were the subject of a complaint in domestic relations cases, while sometimes exhibiting different aggressive tendencies, measured almost equally abusive in terms of the overall level of psychological and physical aggression.)

Bernard, M. L., & Bernard, J. L. (1983). Violent intimacy: The family as a model for love relationships. Family Relations, 32, 283-286. (Surveyed 461 college students, 168 men, 293 women, with regard to dating violence. Found that 15% of the men admitted to physically abusing their partners, while 21% of women admitted to physically abusing their partners.)

Billingham, R. E., & Sack, A. R. (1986). Courtship violence and the interactive status of the relationship. Journal of Adolescent Research, 1, 315-325. (Using CTS with 526 university students <167 men, 359 women> found Similar rates of mutual violence but with women reporting higher rates of violence initiation when partner had not-- 9% vs 3%.)

Bland, R., & Orne, H. (1986). Family violence and psychiatric disorder. Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 31, 129-137. (In interviews with 1,200 randomly selected Canadians <489 men, 711 women> found that women both engaged in and initiated violence at higher rates than their male partners.)

Bohannon, J. R., Dosser Jr., D. A., & Lindley, S. E. (1995). Using couple data to determine domestic violence rates: An attempt to replicate previous work. Violence and Victims, 10, 133-41. (Authors report that in a sample of 94 military couples 11% of wives and 7% of husbands were physically aggressive, as reported by the wives.)

Bookwala, J. (2002). The role of own and perceived partner attachment in relationship aggression. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 17, 84-100. (In a sample of 161 undergraduates, 34.3% of women <n=35> reported being victims of partner aggression compared to 55.9% <n=33> of men.)

Bookwala, J., Frieze, I. H., Smith, C., & Ryan, K. (1992). Predictors of dating violence: A multi variate analysis. Violence and Victims, 7, 297-311. (Used CTS with 305 college students <227 women, 78 men> and found that 133 women and 43 men experienced violence in a current or recent dating relationship. Authors reports that "women reported the expression of as much or more violence in their relationships as men." While most violence in relationships appears to be mutual--36% reported by women, 38% by men-- women report initiating violence with non violent partners more frequently than men <22% vs 17%>).

Brinkerhoff, M., & Lupri, E. (1988). Interspousal violence. Canadian Journal of Sociology, 13, 407-434. (Examined Interspousal violence in a representative sample of 562 couples in Calgary, Canada. Used Conflict Tactics Scale and found twice as much wife-to-husband as husband-to-wife severe violence <10.7% vs 4.8%>. The overall violence rate for husbands was 10.3% while the overall violence rate for wives was 13.2%. Violence was significantly higher in younger and childless couples. Results suggest that male violence decreased with higher educational attainment, while female violence increased.)

Brown, G. (2004). Gender as a factor in the response of the law-enforcement system to violence against partners. Sexuality and Culture, 8, (3-4), 3-139. (Summarizes partner violence data from the 1999 Canadian General Social

Survey <GSS>. The GSS is based on a representative sample of 25,876 persons. Overall in the 12-month period preceding the survey, an estimated 3% Canadian women and 2% of Canadian men reported experiencing violence from their partners. During the 5 year period from 1995-1999, an estimated 8% of Canadian women and 7% of Canadian men reported violence from their partners. Reviewed police and legal responses to partner violence in Edmonton, Canada and concludes that ". . . men who are involved in disputes with their partners, whether as alleged victims or as alleged offenders or both, are disadvantaged and treated less favorably than women by the law-enforcement system at almost every step.")

Brush, L. D. (1990). Violent Acts and injurious outcomes in married couples: Methodological issues in the National Survey of Families and Households. Gender & Society, 4, 56-67. (Used the Conflict Tactics scale in a large national survey, n=5,474, and found that women engage in same amount of spousal violence as men.)

Brutz, J., & Ingoldsby, B. B. (1984). Conflict resolution in Quaker families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46, 21-26. (Used Conflict Tactics Scale with a sample of 288 Quakers <130 men, 158 women> and found a slightly higher rate of female to male violence <15.2%> than male to female violence <14.6%>.)

Burke, P. J., Stets, J. E., & Pirog-Good, M. A. (1988). Gender identity, self-esteem, and physical and sexual abuse in dating relationships. Social Psychology Quarterly, 51, 272-285. (A sample of 505 college students <298 women, 207 men> completed the CTS. Authors reports that they found "no significant difference between men and women in reporting inflicting or sustaining physical abuse." Specifically, within a one year period they found that 14% of the men and 18% of the women reported inflicting physical abuse, while 10% of the men and 14% of the women reported sustaining physical abuse.)

Caetano, R., Schafter, J., Field, C., & Nelson, S. M. (2002). Agreement on reports of intimate partner violence among white, Black, and Hispanic couples in the United States. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 17, 1308-1322. (A probability sample of 1635 couples was interviewed and assessed with the CTS. Agreement concerning intimate partner violence was about 40%, with no differences reported across ethnicities. Women significantly reported perpetrating more partner violence than men in all three ethnic groups.)

Callahan, M. R., Tolman, R. M., & Saunders, D. G. (2003). Adolescent dating violence victimization and psychological well-being. Journal of Adolescent Research, 18(6), 664-681. (Subjects were 190 high school students <53% male; 47% female; approximately 50% African-American> who completed a modified version of the CTS2. In terms of injuries, 22% of girls and 17% of boys reported being injured by their dating partners. Note this difference was nonsignificant.)

Capaldi, D. M. & Crosby, L. (1997). Observed and reported psychological and physical aggression in young, at-risk couples. Social Development, 6, 184-206. (A sample of 118 young men and their dating partners were surveyed regarding their own physical aggression as well as that of their partners. Findings reveal that 31% of men and 36% of women engaged "in an act of physical aggression against their current partner.")

Capaldi, D. M, Kim, H. K., & Shortt, J. W. (2004). Women's involvement in aggression in young adult romantic relationships. In M. Putallaz and K. L. Bierman (Eds.). Aggression, Antisocial Behavior, and Violence Among Girls (pp. 223-241). New York: Guildford Press. (A review chapter which reports on data obtained from Oregon Youth Study and Couples Study. Authors conclude that "Young women were observed to initiate physical aggression toward their partners more frequently than were the young men." And "the relative prevalence of frequent physical aggression by women and of injury and fear for men was surprisingly high.")

Capaldi, D. M. & Owen, L. D. (2001). Physical aggression in a community sample of at-risk young couples: Gender comparisons for high frequency, injury, and fear. Journal of Family Psychology, 15 (3), 425-440. Drawn from a community based at-risk sample, 159 young couples were assessed with the Conflict Tactics scale and measures of self reported injuries. Findings indicated that 9.4% of men and 13.2% of women perpetrated frequent physical aggression toward their partners. Contrary to expectations, 13% of men and 9% of women, indicated that they were physically injured at least once. Authors report "2% of the men and none of the women indicate that they had been hurt by their partners between five and nine times."

Carlson, B. E. (1987). Dating violence: a research review and comparison with spouse abuse. Social Casework, 68, 16-23. (Reviews research on dating violence and finds that men and women are equally likely to aggress against their partners and that "the frequency of aggressive acts is inversely related to the likelihood of their causing physical injury.")

Carney, M., Buttell, F., & Dutton, D. (in press). Women who perpetrate intimate partner violence: A review of the literature with recommendations for treatment. Aggression and Violent Behavior. (An excellent review of the literature on women who perpetrate violence in intimate relationships. Also summarizes intervention programs for such women.)

Carrado, M., George, M. J., Loxam, E., Jones, L., & Templar, D. (1996). Aggression in British heterosexual relationships: a descriptive analysis. Aggressive Behavior, 22, 401-415. (In a representative sample of British men <n=894> and women <n=971> it was found, using a modified version of the CTS, that 18% of the men and 13% of the women reported being victims of physical violence at some point in their heterosexual relationships. With regard to current relationships, 11% of men and 5% of women reported being victims of partner aggression.)

Cascardi, M., Langhinrichsen, J., & Vivian, D. (1992). Marital aggression: Impact, injury, and health correlates for husbands and wives. Archives of Internal Medicine, 152, 1178-1184. (Examined 93 couples seeking marital therapy. Found using the CTS and other information that 71% reported at least one incident of physical aggression in past year. While men and women were equally likely to perpetrate violence, women reported more severe injuries. Half of the wives and two thirds of the husbands reported no injuries as a result of all aggression, but wives sustained more injuries as a result of mild aggression.)

Caulfield, M. B., & Riggs, D. S. (1992). The assessment of dating aggression: Empirical evaluation of the Conflict Tactics Scale. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 4, 549-558. (Used CTS with a sample of 667 unmarried college students <268 men and 399 women> and found on a number of items significantly higher responses of physical violence on part of women. For example, 19% of women slapped their male partner while 7% of men slapped their partners, 13% of women kicked, bit, or hit their partners with a fist while only 3.1% of men engaged in this activity.)

Cercone, J. J., Beach, S. R. H., & Arias, I. (2005). Gender Symmetry in Dating Intimate Partner Violence: Does Behavior Imply Similar Constructs? Violence and Victims, 20 (2) 207-218. (A sample of 414 college students <189 men, 225 women> responded to the CTS2. Results reveal that male and female subjects were equally likely to be perpetrators of minor violence in intimate dating relationships, but women were twice as likely as men to perpetrate severe violence <15.11% vs 7.41%>).

Clark, M. L., Beckett, J., Wells, M., & Dungee-Anderson, D. (1994). Courtship Violence among African-American college students. Journal of Black Psychology, 20 (3), 264-281. (A sample of 311 African-American college students <76 men, 235 women> responded to the CTS. Findings reveal that 41% of men and 33% of women reported being physically abused by a dating partner.)

Claxton-Oldfield, S. & Arsenault, J. (1999). The initiation of physically aggressive behaviour by female university students toward their male partners: Prevalence and the reasons offered for such behaviors. Unpublished manuscript. (In a sample of 168 actively dating female undergraduates at a Canadian university, 26% indicated that they initiated physical aggression toward their male partners. Most common reason for such behavior was because partner was not listening to them.)

Cogan, R., & Ballinger III, B. C. (2006). Alcohol problems and the differentiation of partner, stranger, and general violence. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21 (7), 924-935. (A sample of 457 college men and 958 college women completed the CTS. Results revealed that significantly more men than women <35.4% vs 26.0%> reported being victimized by their partners.)

Coney, N. S., & Mackey, W. C. (1999). The feminization of domestic violence in America: The woozle effect goes beyond rhetoric. Journal of Men's Studies, 8 (1), 45-58. (Authors review the domestic violence literature and report that while society in general as well as the media portray women as "recipients of domestic violence...epidemiological

surveys on the distribution of violent behavior between adult partners suggest gender parity.")

Cook, P. W. (1997). Abused men. The hidden side of domestic violence. Westport, CN.: Praeger. (Presents the evidence, empirical and personal, for male spousal victimization. Examines resistance to acceptance of findings and offers solutions to reduce domestic violence.)

Corry, C. E., Fiebert, M. S., & Pizzy, E. (2002). Controlling domestic violence against men. Available: www.familytx.org/research/Control_DV_against_men.pdf Earlier version presented at Sixth International Conference on Family Violence, San Diego, CA. (A critical examination of men as victims of partner violence.)

Cui, M., Lorenz, F. O., Conger, R. D., Melby, J. N., & Bryant, C. M. (2005). Observer, Self-, and partner reports of hostile behaviors in romantic relationships. Journal of Marriage and Family, 67, 1169-1181. (Examined a sample of 236 young people <48% married, 52% dating; 56% women, 44% men> who completed questionnaires regarding their hostility toward their partners. Findings reveal that couples living together have higher levels of hostility than dating couples and that women in both conditions demonstrate higher levels of hostility towards their partners than men.)

Cunradi, C. B., Caetano, R., Clark, C. L., & Schafer, J. (1999). Alcohol-related problems and intimate partner violence among white, Black, and Hispanic couples in the U.S. Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research, 23, 1492-1501. (A probability sample of 1440 couples <565 white, 358 Black, 527 Hispanic> was obtained from the 1995 National Alcohol Survey. Subjects completed the Conflict Tactics Scale. Ethnicity results reveal that overall rates of partner aggression were similar for whites and Hispanic while Black rates were significantly higher. In terms of gender, white men and women had similar rates of partner aggression, Hispanic women were somewhat more aggressive than Hispanic men and Black men were more aggressive than Black women. Alcohol related problems were a predictor of intimate partner violence in Black couples.)

Deal, J. E., & Wampler, K. S. (1986). Dating violence: The primacy of previous experience. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 3, 457-471. (Of 410 university students <295 women, 115 men> responding to CTS and other instruments, it was revealed that 47% experienced some violence in dating relationships. The majority of experiences were reciprocal. When not reciprocal men were three times more likely than women to report being victims. Violent experiences in previous relationships was the best predictor of violence in current relationships.)

DeKeseredy, W. S. & Schwartz, M. D. (1998). Woman abuse on campus. Results from the Canadian National survey. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (A large sample <1,835 women; 1,307 men> of Canadian college students completed the Conflict Tactics Scale. Results reveal that women report engaging in higher rates of violence than men. Specifically, 46.1% of women reported engaging in some physical violence in intimate relationship since leaving high school. With 38% employing "minor" violence and 19% employing "severe" violence.)

DeMaris, A. (1992). Male versus female initiation of aggression: The case of courtship violence. In E. C. Viano (Ed.), Intimate violence: interdisciplinary perspectives. (pp. 111-120). Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis. (Examined a sample of 865 white and black college students with regard to the initiation of violence in their dating experience. Found that 218 subjects, 80 men and 138 women, had experienced or expressed violence in current or recent dating relationships. Results indicate that "when one partner could be said to be the usual initiator of violence, that partner was most often the women. This finding was the same for both black and white respondents.")

Dowd, L. (2001). Female Perpetrators of Partner Aggression: Relevant Issue and Treatment. Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma, 5 (2), 73-104. (A review article examining female partner aggression with a focus on treatment issues.)

Dutton, D. G. (2006). Rethinking Domestic Violence. Vancouver: UBC Press. (A thoughtful and scholarly analysis of research and treatment in the area of Domestic Violence. Offers much insight, particularly to therapists and policy makers with regard to Intimate Partner Violence <IPV>. Concludes that men are as likely as women to be victims and both suffer similar physical and psychological consequences of IPV.)

Dutton, D. G. (2007). Female intimate partner violence and developmental trajectories of abusive families. International Journal of Men's Health, 6, 54-71. (A review article which concludes that female violence towards intimate male partners is just as severe and has similar consequences as male violence towards women. However, most criminal justice interventions and custody evaluations assume that males are more likely to be IPV perpetrators.)

Dutton, D. G. & Nicholls, T. L. (2005). The gender paradigm in domestic violence research and theory: the conflict of theory and data. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 10, 680-714. (A review and analysis of the data regarding male victimization. Critical of feminist approaches that minimize female perpetration and trivialize male injury.)

Dutton-Greene, L. B., & Straus, M. A. (2005, July). The relationship between gender hostility and partner violence and injury. Paper presented at the 9th International Family Violence Research Conference, Portsmouth, NH. (Report of findings from international dating violence Study which collected data from over 11,000 <70% women> college students from 50 universities in 21 countries. Subjects responded to the revised Conflict Tactics scale, gender hostility scales and injury scales. Findings reveal that women perpetrated greater partner violence than men, that women were more seriously injured than men and that hostility toward the opposite sex was significantly and similarly correlated with partner violence for men and women.)

Ehrensaft, M. K., Moffitt, T. E., & Caspi, A. (2004). Clinically abusive relationships in an unselected birth cohort: men's and women's participation and developmental antecedents. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 113 (2), 258-270. (Assessed 980 individuals, ages 24-26, who were participants in longitudinal study in New Zealand. Subjects were examined with the CTS, the Partner Conflict Calendar, PCC, a measure of the consequences of abuse and a variety of personality and psychopathology scales. Findings reveal that 9% of the total sample, with an equal number of men and women, were victims of clinical abuse in their relationships with partners.)

Ernst, A. A., Nick, T. G., Weiss, S. J., Houry, D., & Mills, T. (1997). Domestic violence in an inner-city ED. Annals of Emergency Medicine, 30, 190-197. (Assessed 516 patients <233 men, 283 women> in a New Orleans inner-city emergency Department with the Index of Spousal Abuse, a scale to measure domestic violence. Found that 28% of the men and 33% of the women <a nonsignificant difference>, were victims of past physical violence while 20% of the men and 19% of the women reported being current victims of physical violence. In terms of ethnicity, 82% of subjects were African-American. Authors report that there was a significant difference in the number of women vs. men who reported past abuse to the police ,19% of women, 6% of men.>)

Farrell, W. (1999). Women can't hear what men don't say. New York: Tarcher/Putnam. See Chapter 6. (Pp. 123-162; 323-329.) (An excellent social and political analysis of couple violence.)

Feather, N. T. (1996). Domestic violence, gender and perceptions of justice. Sex Roles, 35, 507-519. (Subjects <109 men, 111 women> from Adelaide, South Australia, were presented a hypothetical scenario in which either a husband or wife perpetrated domestic violence. Participants were significantly more negative in their evaluation of the husband than the wife, were more sympathetic to the wife and believed that the husband deserved a harsher penalty for his behavior.)

Felson, R. B. (2002). Violence and Gender Reexamined. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. (Scholarly review and analysis of the literature. Author concludes that, "Women are just as likely as men to be victims of violence from their partners. . . ." Also "casts doubt on the battered wife syndrome as an explanation for why women kill their male partners.")

Felson, R. B. (2006). Is violence against women about women or about violence? Contexts, 5, 21-25. (Reports that while men are eight times more likely to commit overall violence than women, there is gender parity in partner violence. Author suggests that violent men are "less likely to assault their partners because of *the chivalry norm.*")

Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Ridder, E. M. (2005). Partner violence and mental health outcomes in a New Zealand birth cohort. Journal of Marriage and Family, 67, 1103-1119. (Examined extent of domestic violence experience and perpetration in a sample of 828 <437 women, 391 men> young adults who were 25 years old.

Subjects were part of a long term longitudinal study and were administered the CTS2. Results reveal that "there were more men exposed to severe domestic violence than women" and that mild and moderate rates were similar for men and women. Overall, 39.4% of women and 30.9% of men reported perpetration scores of 3 or higher. Authors report that men and women reported similar rates of injury <3.9% for women vs. 3.3% for men>. In terms of initiation of partner assaults, 34% of women and 12% of men reported initiating physical assaults.)

Fiebert, M. S., & Gonzalez, D. M. (1997). Women who initiate assaults: The reasons offered for such behavior. Psychological Reports, 80, 583-590. (A sample of 968 women, drawn primarily from college courses in the Southern California area, were surveyed regarding their initiation of physical assaults on their male partners. 29% of the women, n=285, revealed that they initiated assaults during the past five years. Women in their 20's were more likely to aggress than women aged 30 and above. In terms of reasons, women appear to aggress because they did not believe that their male victims would be injured or would retaliate. Women also claimed that they assaulted their male partners because they wished to engage their attention, particularly emotionally.)

Fiebert, M. S. (1996). College students' perception of men as victims of women's assaultive behavior. Perceptual & Motor Skills, 82, 49-50. (Three hundred seventy one college students <91 men, 280 women> were surveyed regarding their knowledge and acceptance of the research finding regarding female assaultive behavior. The majority of subjects (63%) were unaware of the finding that women assault men as frequently as men assault women; a slightly higher percentage of women than men (39% vs 32%) indicated an awareness of this finding. With regard to accepting the validity of these findings a majority of subjects (65%) endorsed such a result with a slightly higher percentage of men (70% vs 64%)indicating their acceptance of this finding.)

Flynn, C. P. (1990). Relationship violence by women: issues and implications. Family Relations, 36, 295-299. (A review/analysis article that states, "researchers consistently have found that men and women in relationships, both marital and premarital engage in comparable amounts of violence." Author also writes, "Violence by women in intimate relationships has received little attention from policy makers, the public, and until recently, researchers...battered men and abusive women have receive 'selective inattention' by both the media and researchers.")

Follingstad, D. R., Wright, S., & Sebastian, J. A. (1991). Sex differences in motivations and effects in dating violence. Family Relations, 40, 51-57. (A sample of 495 college students <207 men, 288 women> completed the CTS and other instruments including a "justification of relationship violence measure." The study found that women were twice as likely to report perpetrating dating violence as men. Female victims attributed male violence to a desire to gain control over them or to retaliate for being hit first, while men believed that female aggression was a based on their female partner's wish to "show how angry they were and to retaliate for feeling emotionally hurt or mistreated.")

Foo, L., & Margolin, G. (1995). A multivariate investigation of dating aggression. Journal of Family Violence, 10, 351-377. (A sample of 290 college students <111 men, 179 women> responded to the CTS. Results reveal that 24.3% of men and 38.5% of women reported perpetrating physical violence toward their dating partners.)

Foshee, V. A. (1996). Gender differences in adolescent dating abuse prevalence, types and injuries. Health Education Research, 11 (3), 275-286. (Data collected from 1965 adolescents in eighth and ninth grade in 14 schools in rural North Carolina. Results reveal that 36.5% of dating females and 39.4% of dating males report being victims of physical dating violence. In terms of perpetrating violence 27.8% of females while only 15.0% of males report perpetrating violence.)

Gelles, R. J. (1994). Research and advocacy: Can one wear two hats? Family Process, 33, 93-95. (Laments the absence of objectivity on the part of "feminist" critics of research demonstrating female perpetrated domestic violence.)

George, M. J. (1994). Riding the donkey backwards: Men as the unacceptable victims of marital violence. Journal of Men's Studies, 3, 137-159. (A thorough review of the literature which examines findings and issues related to men as equal victims of partner abuse.)

George, M. J. (1999). A victimization survey of female perpetrated assaults in the United Kingdom. Aggressive Behavior, 25, 67-79. (A representative sample of 718 men and 737 women completed the CTS and reported their experience as victims of physical assaults by women during a five year period. Men reported greater victimization and more severe assaults than did women. Specifically, 14% of men compared to 7% of women reported being assaulted by women. Highest risk group were single men. The majority (55%) of assaults on men were perpetrated by spouses, partners, or former partners.)

George, M. J. (2002). Skimmington Revisited. Journal of Men's Studies, 10 (2), 111-127. (Examines historical sources and finds that men who were victims of spousal aggression were subject to punishment and humiliation. Inferences to contemporary trivialization of male victims of partner aggression is discussed.)

George, M. J. (2003). Invisible touch. Aggression & Violent Behaviour, 8, 23-60. (A comprehensive review and analysis of female initiated partner aggression. Historical, empirical and case evidence presented to demonstrate reality of "battered husband syndrome.")

George, M. J. (2007). The "great taboo" and the role of patriarchy in husband and wife abuse. International Journal of Men's Health, 6, 7-22. (A scholarly examination of key myths and taboos surrounding the concept of patriarchy. Emphasizes the point that IPV will be successfully combated only when male victimization is acknowledged and addressed by both men and women.)

Giordano, P. C., Millhollin, T. J., Cernkovich, S. A., Pugh, M. D., & Rudolph, J. L. (1999). Delinquency, identity, and women's involvement in relationship violence. Criminology, 37, 17-40. (Reports the responses of 721 young adults <45% male, 55% female; 47% white, 53% nonwhite> who had been involved in delinquent activities 10 years earlier. Subjects responded to a modified version of the CTS. Findings reveal that women were more likely to perpetrate violence than men. Specifically, 27.6% of women compared to 19.2% of men hit or threw at their partner and 8.3% of women compared to 0.4% of men threatened spouse or partner with a knife.)

Goldberg, W. G., & Tomlanovich, M. C. (1984). Domestic violence victims in the emergency department. JAMA, 251, 3259-3264. (A sample of 492 patients <275 women, 217 men> who sought treatment in an emergency department in a Detroit hospital were survey regarding their experience with domestic violence. Respondents were mostly African-American (78%), city dwellers (90%), and unemployed (60%). Victims of domestic violence numbered 107 (22%). While results indicate that 38% of victims were men and 62% were women this gender difference did not reach statistical significance.

Gonzalez, D. M. (1997). Why females initiate violence: A study examining the reasons behind assaults on men. Unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach. (225 college women participated in a survey which examined their past history and their rationales for initiating aggression with male partners. Subjects also responded to 8 conflict scenarios which provided information regarding possible reasons for the initiation of aggression. Results indicate that 55% of the subjects admitted to initiating physical aggression toward their male partners at some point in their lives. The most common reason was that aggression was a spontaneous reaction to frustration).

Goodyear-Smith, F. A. & Laidlaw, T. M. (1999). Aggressive acts and assaults in intimate relationships: Towards an understanding of the literature. Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 17, 285-304. (An up to date scholarly analysis of couple violence. Authors report that, "...studies clearly demonstrate that within the general population, women initiate and use violent behaviors against their partners at least as often as men."

Graham-Kevan, N., & Archer, J. (July, 2005). Using Johnson's domestic violence typology to classify men and women in a non-selected sample. Paper presented at the 9th Annual Family Violence Research Conference, Portsmouth, NH. (A total of 1339 subjects, students and staff from the University of Central Lancashire, responded to a modified version of the CTS. Authors report that, "the proportion of women and men using any act of physical aggression towards their partners was as follows: from self-reports 29% for women and 17% for men, and from partner reports 31% of women and 22% for men.")

Grandin, E. & Lupri, E. (1997). Intimate violence in Canada and the United States: A cross-national comparison. ournal of Family Violence, 12 (4), 417-443. (Authors examine data from the 1985 U.S. National Family Violence tesurvey and the 1986 Canadian National Family Life Survey. Report that "although the United States exhibits ignificantly higher rates of societal violence crime than Canada, Canadian women and men were more likely than heir American counterparts to use severe and minor intimate violence." This finding is counter to the "culture of riolence theory." Moreover, in both cultures the rates of violence of wives to husbands were higher than husbands to vives. Specifically, the overall violence index for men in America was 10.6 and in Canada it was 18.3; while the overall violence index for women in America was 12.2 and in Canada it was 25.3.)

Gray, H. M. & Foshee, V. (1997). Adolescent dating violence. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12, 126-142. (A sample of 185 adolescents responded to a questionnaire about dating violence; 77 students reported being involved in physical violence in their current or most recent dating relationship. Mutual violence was present in 66% of cases; while 26% of males and 8% of females reported being victims of violence and 29% of females and 4% of males reported being sole perpetrators of violence.)

Gryl, F. E., Stith, S. M., & Bird, G. W. (1991). Close dating relationships among college students: differences by use of violence and by gender. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 8, 243-264. (A sample of 280 first year college students <156 women, 124 men> at a mid-Atlantic university completed the violence sub-scale of the Conflict Tactics Scale. Results reveal that almost 30% of the females and 23% of males reported that they had been violent in the current relationship. Also almost 28% of women and 39% of men reported sustaining violence in their current relationship.)

Hamel, J. (2005). Gender Inclusive Treatment of Intimate Partner Abuse. New York: Springer. (Reviews the "most reliable and empirically sound research" and concludes that "men and women physically and emotionally abuse each other at equal rates. . ." Offers a comprehensive gender inclusive treatment approach to domestic violence.)

Hamel, J. (2007). Toward a gender-inclusive conception of intimate partner violence research and theory: Part 1-traditional perspectives. International Journal of Men's Health, 6, 36-54. (A review article which examines research in the area of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and finds that until recently the primary focus was on the physical and psychological abuse of women by their male partners. Concludes that the reluctance to objectively investigate the area is due to a "prevailing patriarchal conception of intimate partner violence.")

Hampton, R. L., Gelles, R. J., & Harrop, J. W. (1989). Is violence in families increasing? A comparison of 1975 and 1985 National Survey rates. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 969-980. (Compared a sample of 147 African Americans from the 1975 National Survey with 576 African Americans from the 1985 National Survey with regard to spousal violence. Using the CTS found that the rate of overall violence (169/1000) of husbands to wives remained the same from 1975 to 1985, while the rate of overall violence for wives to husbands increased 33% (153 to 204/1000) from 1975 to 1985. The rate of severe violence of husbands to wives decreased 43% (113 to 64/1000) from 1975 to 1985, while the rate of severe violence of wives to husbands increased 42% (76 to 108/1000) from 1975 to 1985. In 1985 the rate of abusive violence by black women was nearly 3 times greater than the rate of white women.)

Harned, M. S. (2002). A multivariate analysis of risk markers for dating violence victimization. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 17, 1179-1197. (In a university sample of 874 daters <489 women, 385 men> assessed with the revised CTS, 22% of women and 21% of men reported experiencing physical aggression from dating partners.)

Harders, R. J., Struckman-Johnson, C., Struckman-Johnson, D. & Caraway, S. J. (1998). Verbal and physical abuse in dating relationships. Paper presented at the meeting of American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA. (Surveyed 274 college students <92 men, 182 women> using a revised formed of the Conflict Tactics Scale. Found that women were significantly more physically aggressive than men, particularly in the areas of: pushing, slapping and punching.)

Headey, B., Scott, D., & de Vaus, D. (1999). Domestic violence in Australia: Are women and men equally violent? Data from the International Social Science Survey/ Australia 1996/97 was examined. A sample of 1643

subjects (804 men, 839 women) responded to questions about their experience with domestic violence in the past 12 months. Results reveal that 5.7% of men and 3.7% of women reported being victims of domestic assaults. With regard to injuries results reveal that women inflict serious injuries at least as frequently as men. For example 1.8% of men and 1.2% of women reported that their injuries required first aid, while 1.5% of men and 1.1% of women reported that their injuries needed treatment by a doctor or nurse.

Hendy, H. M., Weiner, K., Bakerofskie, J., Eggen, D., Gustitus, C., & McLeod, K. C. (2003). Comparison of six models for violent romantic relationships in college men and women. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18, 645-665. (A sample of 608 students <164 men, 444 women> were surveyed with the Conflict Tactics Scale. Results indicate that 16% of men and 26% of women report inflicting violence on their current romantic partner.)

Henton, J., Cate, R., Koval, J., Lloyd, S., & Christopher, S. (1983). Romance and violence in dating relationships. Journal of Family Issues, 4, 467-482. (Surveyed 644 high school students <351 men, 293 women> and found that abuse occurred at a rate of 121 per 1000 and appeared to be reciprocal with both partners initiating violence at similar rates.)

Herrenkohl, T. I., Kosterman, R., Mason, W. A., & Hawkins, J. D. (2007). Victims and Violence, 22 (3), 259-274. (Subjects were drawn from a longitudinal study in Seattle, WA. At age 24, 644 subjects <51.6% female, 48.4% male; 48% Euro-American, 25% African-American, 22% Asian-American) who were partnered were assessed with a modified version of the CTS. Results reveal that 19% of subjects perpetrated one or more acts of IPV in the past year. Overall 25% of women and 13% of men reported having perpetrated IPV.

Hines, D. A. & Malley-Morrison, K. (2001). Psychological effects of partner abuse against men: a neglected research area. Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 2, 75-85. (A review article that examines the issue of men as victims of partner abuse. Considers reasons why men would remain in an abusive relationship.)

Hines, D. A. & Saudino, K. J. (2003). Gender differences in psychological, physical, and sexual aggression among college students using the revised Conflict Tactics Scales. Violence and Victims, 18 (2), 197-217. (A sample of 481 college students <179 men, 302 women> responded to the revised Conflict Tactics scale. Results indicate that 29% of men and 35% of women reported perpetrating physical aggression in their relationships.)

Hoff, B. H. (1999). The risk of serious physical injury from assault by a woman intimate. A re-examination of National Violence against women survey data on type of assault by an intimate. WWW.vix.com/menmag/nvawrisk.htm. (A re-examination of the data from the most recent National violence against women survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) shows that "assaulted men are more likely than assaulted women to experience serious attacks by being hit with an object, beat up, threatened with a knife or being knifed.")

Holtzworth-Munroe, A. (2005). Female Perpetration of Physical Aggression Against an Intimate Partner: A Controversial New Topic of Study. Violence and Victims, 20 (2), 251-259. (Examines the changing zeitgeist, methodological issues, and research findings regarding female perpetrated violence.)

Jackson, S. M., Cram, F. & Seymour, F. W. (2000). Violence and sexual coercion in high school students' dating relationships. Journal of Family Violence, 15, 23-36. (In a New Zealand sample of senior high school students <200 women, 173 men> 21% of women and 19% of men reported having been physically hurt by their heterosexual dating partner.)

Jenkins, S. S., & Aube, J. (2002). Gender differences and gender-related constructs in dating aggression. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28, 1106-1118. (Used the CTS with a university sample of 85 dating couples. Authors report that, "women in existing college dating relationships are more aggressive than men.")

Jezl, D. R., Molidor, C. E., & Wright, T. L. (1996). Physical, sexual, and psychological abuse in high school dating relationships: Prevalence rates and self-esteem issues. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 13 (1), 69-87. (Examined an ethnically diverse sample of currently dating subjects <114 male, 118 female> who responded to a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale. Results indicate that 50.9% of subjects <63% of males and 39% of

females> reported being victims of moderately abusive behaviors such as "being kicked, slapped, having your hair pulled, and being intentionally scratched.")

Jouriles, E. N., & O'leary, K. D. (1985). Interpersonal reliability of reports of marital violence. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53, 419-421. (Used the Conflict Tactics Scale with a sample of 65 couples in marriage therapy and 37 couples from the community. Found moderate levels of agreement of abuse between partners and similar rates of reported violence between partners.)

Kalmuss, D. (1984). The intergenerational transmission of marital aggression. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46, 11-19. (In a representative sample of 2,143 adults found that the rate of husband to wife severe aggression is 3.8% while the rate of wife to husband severe aggression is 4.6%.)

Katz, J., Kuffel, S. W., & Coblentz, A. (2002). Are there gender differences in sustaining dating violence? An examination of frequency, severity, and relationship satisfaction. Journal of Family Violence, 17, 247-271. (Authors report two studies where dating men and women experienced violence at comparable levels, "although men experienced more frequent moderate violence." In the first study n=286, <183 women, 103 men> 55% of women had nonviolent partners, while 50% of men had nonviolent partners; in the second study n=123 <78 women, 45 men> 73% of women had nonviolent partners, while 58% of men had nonviolent partners.)

Kaura, S. A. & Allan, C. M. (2004). Dissatisfaction with relationship power and dating violence perpetration by men and women. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19, 576-588. (A university sample of 352 men and 296 women completed the revised Conflict Tactics Scale. Authors report, "Surprisingly, significantly more dating violence perpetration is reported by women than by men.")

Kelly, L. (2003). Disabusing the definition of domestic abuse: how women batter men and the role of the feminist state. Florida State Law Review, 30, 791-855. (A scholarly examination of the issue of male victimization which is critical of feminist perspectives.)

Kim, K., & Cho, Y. (1992). Epidemiological survey of spousal abuse in Korea. In E. C. Viano (Ed.) Intimate Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. (pp. 277-282). Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis. (Utilized the Conflict Tactics scale in interviews with a random sample of 1,316 married Koreans <707 women, 609 men>. Compared to findings with American couples, results indicate that Korean men were victimized by their wives twice as much as American men, while Korean women were victimized by their spouses three times as much as American women.)

Kim, J-Y., & Emery, C. (2003). Marital power, conflict, norm consensus, and marital violence in a nationally representative sample of Korean couples. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18, 197-219. (A sample of 1500 South Koreans were surveyed. Marital power, conflict and norm consensus were correlated with marital violence. Findings reveal that the incidence of husband to wife violence 27.8%, while wife to husband was 15.8%)

Kwong, M. J., Bartholomew, K., & Dutton, D. (1999). Gender differences in patterns of relationship violence in Alberta. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 31 (3), 150-160. (A representative sample of men <n=356> and women <n=351> from Alberta using the Conflict Tactics Scale, reported on their experience of marital aggression during a one year period. Similar levels of reported perpetration of physical violence were found, viz., husband to wife 12.9%, wife to husband, 12.3%.)

Lane, K., & Gwartney-Gibbs, P.A. (1985). Violence in the context of dating and sex. Journal of Family Issues, 6, 45-49. (Surveyed 325 students <165 men, 160 women> regarding courtship violence. Used Conflict Tactics Scale and found equal rates of violence for men and women.)

Laner, M. R., & Thompson, J. (1982). Abuse and aggression in courting couples. Deviant Behavior, 3, 229-244. (Used Conflict Tactics Scales with a sample of 371 single individuals <129 men, 242 women> and found similar rates of male and female violence in dating relationships.)

Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J., & Vivian, D. (1994). The correlates of spouses' incongruent reports of marital

aggression. Journal of Family Violence, 9, 265-283. (In a clinic sample of 97 couples seeking marital therapy, authors found, using a modified version of the CTS, that 61% of the husbands and 64% of the wives were classified as aggressive, 25% of the husbands and 11% of the wives were identified as mildly aggressive and 36% of husbands and 53% of wives were classified as severely aggressive. Sixty-eight percent of couples were in agreement with regard to husband's overall level of aggression and 69% of couples were in agreement on wive's overall level of aggression. Aggression levels were identified as "nonviolent, mildly violent, or severely violent." Where there was disagreement, 65% of husbands <n=20> were under-reporting aggression and 35% of husbands <n=11> were over-reporting aggression; while 57% of wives <n=17> were under-reporting aggression and 43% of wives <n=13> were over-reporting aggression.)

Laroche, D. (2005). Aspects of the context and consequences of domestic violence-Situational couple violence and intimate terrorism in Canada in 1999. Table 8. Quebec City: Government of Quebec. (Author presents a reanalysis of Canadian General Social Survey <see Brown, 2004> and reports great similarity in male and female victimization. Specifically, 83% of men and 77% of women feared for their lives because they were unilaterally terrorized by their partners. A similar percentage <84%> of men and women who were terrorized by their partners received medical attention.)

Leisring, P. A., Dowd, L., & Rosenbaum, A. (2003). Treatment of Partner Aggressive Women. Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma, 7 (1/2), 257-277. (Article discusses information regarding gender parity in partner aggression. Authors provide a rationale for the study of female offenders and describe characteristics of partner aggressive women. Included is a presentation of the treatment program for partner aggressive women at University of Massachusetts medical school.)

Lewis, A. & Sarantakos, S. (2001). Domestic Violence and the male victim. Nuance, #3. (Based on interviews with 48 men in Australia and New Zealand, authors present findings that domestic violence by women toward men exists, that the refusal to examine the prevalence of this abuse is a "disempowerment" of men and that official policy should be changed to provide help for abused men.)

Lillja, C. M. (1995). Why women abuse: A study examining the function of abused men. Unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach. (A review of the literature examining the issue of men as victims of female assaults. Includes an original questionnaire to test assumption that women who lack social support to combat stress are likely to commit domestic violence.)

Lo, W. A., & Sporakowski, M. J. (1989). The continuation of violent dating relationships among college students. Journal of College Student Development, 30, 432-439. (A sample of 422 college students completed the Conflict Tactics Scale. Found that, "women were more likely than men to claim themselves as abusers and were less likely to claim themselves as victims.")

Lottes, I. L., & Weinberg, M. S. (1996). Sexual coercion among university students: a comparison of the United States and Sweden. Journal of Sex Research, 34, 67-76. (A sample of 507 Swedish students <211 men, 359 women> and 407 U.S. students <129 men, 278 women> responded to items on the CTS. Results reveal that 31% of U.S. men compared to 18% of Swedish men reported being victims of physical violence by female partners during the previous 12 months. While 31% of U.S. women comparted to 19% of Swedish women reported being victims of physical violence by male partners during the previous 12 months.)

Macchietto, J. (1992). Aspects of male victimization and female aggression: Implications for counseling men. Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 14, 375-392. (Article reviews literature on male victimization and female aggression.)

Magdol, L., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Fagan, J., Newman, D. L., & Silva, P. A. (1997). Gender differences in partner violence in a birth cohort of 21 year Olds: bridging the gap between clinical and epidemiological approaches. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 65, 68-78. (Used CTS with a sample of 861 21 year Olds <436 men, 425 women> in New Zealand. Physical violence perpetration was reported during the previous 12 months by 37.2% of women and 21.8% of men, with severe violence perpetration by women at 18.6% and men at 5.7%.)

Makepeace, J. M. (1986). Gender differences in courtship violence victimization. Family Relations, 35, 383-388. (A sample of 2,338 students <1,059 men, 1,279 women> from seven colleges were surveyed regarding their experience of dating violence. Courtship violence was experienced by 16.7 % of respondents. Authors report that "rates of commission of acts and initiation of violence were similar across gender." In term of injury, both men (98%) and women (92%) reported "none or mild" effects of violence.)

Malik, S., Sorenson, S. B., & Aneshensel, C. S. (1997). Journal of Adolescent Health, 21, 291-302. (A sample of 707 high school students <281 boys, 426 girls> responded to the CTS. Results reveal that girls were almost 3 times more likely than boys to perpetrate dating violence. In terms of ethnicity African-Americans had the highest level of dating violence, followed by Latinos, whites, and Asian Americans.)

Mallory, K. A., McCloskey, K. A., Griggsby, N., & Gardner, D. (2003). Women's use of violence within intimate relationships. Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 6 (2), 37-59. (Reviews research which examines women's use of violence in intimate relationships. Reports a number of studies which document the increased arrests of women in domestic disputes.)

Malone, J., Tyree, A., & O'Leary, K. D. (1989). Generalization and containment: Different effects of past aggression for wives and husbands. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 687-697. (In a sample of 328 couples it was found that men and women engaged in similar amounts of physical aggression within their families of origin and against their spouses. However, results indicate that women were more aggressive to their partners than men. Aggression was more predictable for women, i.e., if women observed parental aggression or hit siblings they were more likely to be violent with their spouses.)

Margolin, G. (1987). The multiple forms of aggressiveness between marital partners: how do we identify them? Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 13 , 77-84. (A paid volunteer sample of 103 couples completed the Conflict Tactics Scale. It was found that husbands and wives perpetrated similar amounts of violence. Specifically, the incidence of violence, as reported by either spouse was: husband to wife =39; wife to husband =41.)

Marshall, L. L., & Rose, P. (1987). Gender, stress and violence in the adult relationships of a sample of college students. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 4, 299-316. (A survey of 308 undergraduates <152 men, 156 women> revealed that 52% expressed and 62% received violence at some point in their adult relationships. Overall, women report expressing more physical violence than men. Childhood abuse emerged as a predictor of violence in adult relationships.)

Marshall, L. L., & Rose, P. (1990). Premarital violence: The impact of family of origin violence, stress and reciprocity. Violence and Victims, 5, 51-64. (454 premarital undergraduates <249 women, 205 men> completed the CTS and other scales. Overall, women reported expressing more violence than men, while men reported receiving more violence than women. Female violence was also associated with having been abused as children.)

Mason, A., & Blankenship, V. (1987). Power and affiliation motivation, stress and abuse in intimate relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52, 203-210. (Investigated 155 college students <48 men, 107 women> with the Thematic Apperception Test <TAT>, Life Experiences Survey and the CTS. Found that there were no significant gender differences in terms of the infliction of physical abuse. Men with high power needs were more likely to be physically abusive while highly stressed women with high needs for affiliation and low activity inhibition were the most likely to be physically abusive. Results indicate that physical abuse occurred most often among committed couples.)

Matthews, W. J. (1984). Violence in college couples. College Student Journal, 18, 150-158. (A survey of 351 college students <123 men and 228 women> revealed that 79 <22.8 %> reported at least one incident of dating violence. Both men and women ascribed joint responsibility for violent behavior and both sexes, as either recipients or expressors of aggression, interpreted violence as a form of "love.")

Maxfield, M. G. (1989). Circumstances in supplementary homicide reports: Variety and validity. Criminology, 27, 671-695. (Examines FBI homicide data from 1976 through 1985. Reports that 9,822 wives & common law wives

<57%> were killed compared to 7,433 husbands and common law husbands <43%>).

McCarthy, A. (2001.) Gender differences in the incidences of, motives for, and consequences of, dating violence among college students. Unpublished Master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach. (In a sample of 1145 students <359 men, 786 women> found that 36% of men and 28% of women responding to the CTS2 reported that they were victims of physical aggression during the previous year. There were no differences in reported motives for aggression between men and women.)

McKinney, K. (1986). Measures of verbal, physical and sexual dating violence by gender. Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, 14, 55-60. (Surveyed 163 college students, 78 men, 85 women, with a questionnaire designed to assess involvement in dating abuse. Found that 38% of women and 47% of men indicated that they were victims of physical abuse in dating relationships. Also found that 26% of women and 21% of men acknowledged that they physically assaulted their dating partners.)

McLeod, M. (1984). Women against men: An examination of domestic violence based on an analysis of official data and national victimization data. Justice Quarterly, 1, 171-193. (From a data set of 6,200 cases of spousal abuse in the Detroit area in 1978-79 found that men used weapons 25% of the time while female assailants used weapons 86% of the time, 74% of men sustained injury and of these 84% required medical care. Concludes that male victims are injured more often and more seriously than female victims.)

McNeely, R. L., Cook, P. W. & Torres, J. B. (2001). Is domestic violence a gender issue or a human issue? Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 4 (4), 227-251. (Argues that domestic violence is a human issue and not a gender issue. Presents and discusses empirical findings and case studies to support this view. Expresses concerns about men's "legal and social defenselessness.")

McNeely, R. L., & Mann, C. R. (1990). Domestic violence is a human issue. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 5, 129-132. (A review article which discusses the findings that women are more prone than men to engage in severely violent acts and that "classifying spousal violence as a women's issue rather than a human issue is erroneous.")

McNeely, R. L., & Robinson-Simpson, G. (1987). The truth about domestic violence: A falsely framed issue. Social Work, 32, 485-490. (A review article which concludes that women are as violent as men in domestic relationships.)

Mechem, C. C., Shofer, F. S., Reinhard, S. S., Hornig, S., & Datner, E. (1999). History of domestic violence among male patients presenting to an urban emergency department. Academic Emergency Medicine, 6, 786-791. (Data was collected over a 13 week period at an emergency clinic in Philadelphia which focused on injuries to male patients. Results revealed that 12.6% of 866 men were victims of domestic violence. Authors cite published findings that 14.4% of women treated in Emergency departments had been physically or sexually abused by an intimate partner. Compared to non-victims, victims were more likely to be single <52%>, younger <7.5 yrs> and African-American <61%>. In terms of assaults, 48% of men reported being kicked, bitten, chocked or punched by a female partner, while 37% of men reported having a weapon used against them.)

Mercy, J. A., & Saltzman, L. E. (1989). Fatal violence among spouses in the United States, 1975-85. American Journal of Public Health, 79, 595-599. (Examined FBI figures regarding spousal homicides. During the 10 year period from 1975 to 1985 found higher murder rates of wives than husbands <43.4% vs 56.6%>. Black husbands were at the greatest risk of victimization. Spousal homicide among blacks was 8.4 times higher than that of whites. Spouse homicide rates were 7.7 times higher in interracial marriages and the risk of victimization for both whites and blacks increased as age differences between spouses increased. Wives and husbands were equally likely to be killed by firearms <approximately 72% of the time> while husbands were more likely to be stabbed and wives more likely to bludgeoned to death. Arguments apparently escalated to murder in 67% of spouse homicides.)

Meredith, W. H., Abbot, D. A., & Adams, S. L. (1986). Family violence in relation to marital and parental satisfaction and family strengths. Journal of Family Violence, 1, 299-305. (Authors report that 6% of men and 5% of women in Nebraska indicated that they used severe violence at least once in the previous year.)

Merrill, L. L., King, L. K., Milner, J. S., Newell, C. E., & Koss, M. P. (1998). Premilitary intimate partner conflict resolution in a Navy basic trainee sample. Military Psychology, 10, 1-15. (A sample of 2, 987 ,1,560 women, 1,427 men> Navy basic trainees responded to the CTS. More men <43.3%> than women <40.3%> reported receiving physical violence from an intimate partner, and more women <46.9%> than men <31.9%> reported at least one instance of inflicting physical violence on an intimate partner.)

Migliaccio, T. A. (2002). Abused husbands: A Narrative analysis. Journal of Family Issues, 23, 26-52. (Narratives of 12 abused men are examined. Study finds that the accounts of battered men and women follow similar patterns, "including the structure of the relationships, acceptance of the abuse, and the social context of the situation.")

Mihalic, S. W., & Elliot, D. (1997). A social learning theory model of marital violence. Journal of Family Violence, 12, 21-46. (Based on data from the National Youth Survey <see Morse, 1995> a social learning model of marital violence for men and women was tested. For men ethnicity, prior victimization, stress and marital satisfaction predicted both perpetration and experience of minor violence. With regard to serious violence ethnicity, prior victimization, marital satisfaction predicted men's experience of marital violence, while ethnicity, class and sex role attitudes predicted the perpetration of male marital violence. For women the most important predictor of the experience of both minor and serious marital violence was marital satisfaction, class was also a predictor. With regard to female perpetrators of marital violence the witnessing of parental violence was an important predictor along with class and marital satisfaction. The social learning model worked better for women than men.)

Milardo, R. M. (1998). Gender asymmetry in common couple violence. Personal Relationships, 5, 423-438. (A sample of 180 college students <88 men, 72 women> were asked whether they would be likely to hit their partner in a number of situations common to a dating relationship. Results reveal that 83% of the women, compared to 53% of the men, indicated that they would be somewhat likely to hit their partner.)

Mirrlees-Black, C. (1999). Findings from a new British Crime Survey self-completion questionnaire. Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate report 191. Home Office. London, HMSO. (In 1996, 16,000 completed questionnaires regarding crime victimization. Findings reveal 4.2% of men and 4.2% of women between the ages of 16-59 reported being physically assaulted by a current or former partner within the past year.)

Moffitt, T. E., Robins, R. W., & Caspi, A. (2001). A couples analysis of partner abuse with implications for abuse-prevention policy. Criminology & Public Policy, 1 (1), 5-36. (A representative longitudinal sample of 360 young-adult couples in New Zealand completed a 13 item physical abuse scale. Results reveal that 40% of males and 50% of females had perpetrated at least one act of physical violence toward their partners.)

Morse, B. J. (1995). Beyond the Conflict Tactics Scale: Assessing gender differences in partner violence. Violence and Victims, 10 (4), 251-272. (Data was analyzed from the National Youth Survey, a longitudinal study begun in 1976 with 1,725 subjects who were drawn from a probability sample of households in the United States and who, in 1976, were between the ages of 11-17. This study focused on violence as assessed by the CTS between male and female married or cohabiting respondents during survey years 1983 <n=1,496>, 1986 <n=1,384>, 1989 <n=1,436>, and 1992 <n=1,340>. For each survey year the prevalence rates of any violence and severe violence were significantly higher for female to male than for male to female. For example, in 1983 the rate of any violence male to female was 36.7, while the rate of any violence female to male was 48; in 1986, the rate of severe violence male to female was 9.5, while the rate of severe violence female to male was 22.8. In 1992, the rate of any violence male to female was 20.2, with a severe violence rate male to female of 5.7; while the rate of any violence female to male was 27.9, with a severe violence rate female to male of 13.8. Author notes that the decline in violence over time is attributed to the increase in age of the subjects. Results reveal <p. 163> that over twice as many women as men reported assaulting a partner who had not assaulted them during the study year." In 1986 about 20% of both men and women reported that assaults resulted in physical injuries. In other years women were more likely to self report personal injuries.)

Molidor, C., & Tolman, R. M. (1998). Gender and contextual factors in adolescent dating violence. Violence against Women, 4 (2), 180-194. (Subjects were 635 high school students <305 girls; 330 boys> who completed a

modified version of the CTS. Results indicate that there was no significant difference between males and females in their experience of overall dating biolence <37.1% of males vs. 36.4% of females. males reported greater frequency of moderate violence and females reported greater frequency of severe violence.)

Murphy, J. E. (1988). Date abuse and forced intercourse among college students. In G. P. Hotaling, D. Finkelhor, J. T. Kirkpatrick, & M. A. Straus (Eds.) Family Abuse and its Consequences: New Directions in Research (pp. 285-296). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. (A sample of 485 single college students <230 men, 255 women> completed the CTS. Overall men reported greater victimization than women. For example, 20.7% of men compared to 12.8% of women reported being kicked, bit or hit with a fist and 6% of men compared to 3.6% of women reported being beaten up by their heterosexual partner.)

Mwamwenda, T. S. (1998). Reports of husband battering from an undergraduate sample in Umtata. Psychological Reports, 82, 517-518. (Surveyed a sample of 138 female and 81 male college students in Transkei, South Africa, regarding their witnessing husbanding battery. Responses reveal that 2% of subjects saw their mother beat their father, 18% saw or heard female relatives beating their husbands, and 26% saw or heard female neighbors beating their husbands.)

Niaz, U., Hassan, S., & Tariq, Q. (2002). Psychological consequences of intimate partner violence: forms of domestic abuse in both genders. Pakistan Journal of Medical Science, 18 (3), 205-214. (A sample of 140 <70 men, 70 women> outpatient psychiatric patients in Pakistan were assessed with the Karachi Domestic Violence Screening Scale. Findings reveal that 19 men <27%> and 30 women <43%> reported being victims of physical abuse in their domestic relationships.)

Nicholls, T. L. & Dutton, D. G. (2001). Abuse committed by women against male intimates. Journal of Couples Therapy, 10 (1), 41-57. (A comprehensive review of the literature which concludes that "men are as likely as women to be victims of intimate assaults.")

Nisonoff, L. & Bitman, I. (1979). Spouse abuse: Incidence and relationship to selected demographic variables. Victimology, 4, 131-140. (In a sample of 297 telephone survey respondents <112 men, 185 women> found that 15.5% of men and 11.3% of women report having hit their spouse, while 18.6% of men and 12.7% of women report having been hit by their spouse.)

O'Keefe, M. (1997). Predictors of dating violence among high school students. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12, 546-568. (Surveyed 939 students <385 boys, 554 girls> ranging in age from 14-20. Sample was ethnically diverse: 53% Latino, 20% White, 13% African-American, 6.7% Asian American, and 7% "other." A modified version of the violence subscale of the Conflict Tactics Scale was used to assess dating violence. Results reveal that 43% of females and 39% of males reported that they perpetrated some form of physical aggression on their dating partners.)

O'Keeffe, N. K., Brockopp, K., & Chew, E. (1986). Teen dating violence. Social Work, 31, 465-468. (Surveyed 256 high school students from Sacramento, CA., 135 girls, 121 boys, with the CTS. Ninety percent of students were juniors or seniors, the majority came from middle class homes, 94% were average or better students, and 65% were white and 35% were black, Hispanic or Asian. Found that 11.9% of girls compared to 7.4% of boys admitted to being sole perpetrators of physical violence. 17.8% of girls and 11.6% of boys admitted that they were both "victims and perpetrators" of physical violence.)

O'Leary, K. D., Barling, J., Arias, I., Rosenbaum, A., Malone, J., & Tyree, A. (1989). Prevalence and stability of physical aggression between spouses: A longitudinal analysis. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 57, 263-268. (272 couples were assessed regarding physical aggression. More women reported physically aggressing against their partners at premarriage <44% vs 31%> and 18 months of marriage <36% vs 27%>. At 30 months there was a nonsignificant but higher rate for women <32% vs 25%>.)

Pedersen, P. & Thomas, C. D. (1992). Prevalence and correlates of dating violence in a Canadian University sample. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 24, 490-501. (A sample of 166 undergraduates <116 women, 50

men> responded to the CTS; 45.8% of subjects reported experiencing physical violence in their current or most recent dating relationship. Of this total, 44.8% of women and 48% of men reported being physically aggressed upon by their partners. It was also found that only 22% of men and 40.5% of women reported using physical aggression against a dating partner.)

Plass, M. S., & Gessner, J. C. (1983). Violence in courtship relations: a southern sample. Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, 11, 198-202. (In an opportunity sample of 195 high school and college students from a large southern city, researchers used the Conflict Tactics scale to examine courtship violence. Overall, results reveal that women were significantly more likely than men to be aggressors. Specifically, in, committed relationships, women were three times as likely as men to slap their partners, and to kick, bit or hit with the fist seven times as often as men. In casual relationships, while the gender differences weren't as pronounced, women were more aggressive than men. Other findings reveal that high school students were more abusive than college students, and that a "higher proportion of black respondents were involved as aggressors.")

Ridley, C. A., & Feldman, C. M. (2003). Female domestic violence toward male partners: Exploring conflict responses and outcomes. Journal of Family Violence, 18 (3), 157-170. (Participants were 153 female volunteers who completed the Abusive Behavior Inventory. Results reveal that 67.3% of participants reported at least one occurrence of perpetrating violent behavior in the past year. Most frequent behaviors included pushing, shoving, holding down <45.1%> and slapping, hitting, biting <41.2%>.)

Riggs, D. S., O'Leary, K. D., & Breslin, F. C. (1990). Multiple correlates of physical aggression in dating couples. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 5, 61-73. (Used CTS and studied 408 college students <125 men and 283 women>. Found that significantly more women <39%> than men <23%> reported engaging in physical aggression against their current partners.)

Rollins, B. C., & Oheneba-Sakyi, Y. (1990). Physical violence in Utah households. Journal of Family Violence, 5, 301-309. (In a random sample of 1,471 Utah households, using the Conflict Tactics Scale, it was found that women's rate of severe violence was 5.3% compared to a male rate of 3.4%.)

Rouse, L. P. (1988). Abuse in dating relationships: A comparison of Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics. Journal of College Student Development, 29, 312-319. (The use of physical force and its consequences were examined in a diverse sample of college students. Subjects consisted of 130 whites <58 men, 72 women>, 64 Blacks <32 men, 32 women>, and 34 Hispanics <24 men, 10 women>. Men were significantly more likely than women to report that their partners used moderate physical force and caused a greater number of injuries requiring medical attention. This gender difference was present for Whites and Blacks but not for Hispanics.)

Rosenfeld, R. (1997). Changing relationships between men and women. A note on the decline in intimate partner violence. Homicide Studies, 1, 72-83. (Author reports on homicide rates in ST. Louis from 1968-1992. Findings indicate that while men and women were equally likely to be victims of partner violence in 1970, in subsequent years men, primarily black men, were more likely to be murdered by their intimate partners.)

Rouse, L. P., Breen, R., & Howell, M. (1988). Abuse in intimate relationships. A Comparison of married and dating college students. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 3, 414-429. (A sample of 130 married (48 men, 82 women) college students and 130 college students in dating relationships (58 men, 72 women) reported their experience of physical abuse in intimate relationships. Men were more likely to report being physically abused than women in both dating and marital relationships.)

Russell, R. J. H., & Hulson, B. (1992). Physical and psychological abuse of heterosexual partners. Personality and Individual Differences, 13, 457-473. (In a pilot study in Great Britain 46 couples responded to the Conflict Tactics Scale. Results reveal that husband to wife violence was: Overall violence= 25% and severe violence= 5.8%; while wife to husband violence was: Overall violence= 25% and severe violence=11.3%.)

Ryan, K. A. (1998). The relationship between courtship violence and sexual aggression in college students. Journal of Family Violence, 13, 377-394. (A sample of 656 college students <245 men, 411 women> completed the

CTS. Thirty four percent of the women and 40% of the men reported being victims of their partner's physical aggression.)

Sack, A. R., Keller, J. F., & Howard, R. D. (1982). Conflict tactics and violence in dating situations. International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 12, 89-100. (Used the CTS with a sample of 211 college students, 92 men, 119 women. Results indicate that there were no differences between men and women with regard to the expression of physical violence.)

Saenger, G. (1963). Male and female relations in the American comic strip. In D. M. White & R. H. Abel (Eds.), The funnies, an American idiom (pp. 219-231). Glencoe, NY: The Free Press. (Twenty consecutive editions of all comic strips in nine New York City newspapers in October, 1950 were examined. Results reveal that husbands were victims of aggression in 63% of conflict situations while wives were victims in 39% of situations. In addition, wives were more aggressive in 73% of domestic situations, in 10% of situations, husbands and wives were equally aggressive and in only 17% of situations were husbands more violent than wives.)

Sarantakos, S. (2004). Deconstructing self-defense in wife-to-husband violence. Journal of Men's Studies, 12 (3), 277-296. (Members of 68 families with violent wives in Australia were studied. In 78% of cases wives' violence was reported to be moderate to severe and in 38% of cases husbands needed medical attention. Using information from husbands, wives, children and wives' mothers study provides compelling data challenging self defense as a motive for female-to-male violence.)

Schafer, J., Caetano, R., & Clark, C. L. (1998). Rates of intimate partner violence in the United States. American journal of Public Health, 88, 1702-1704. (Used modified CTS and examined reports of partner violence in a representative sample of 1635 married and cohabiting couples. Both partners reports were used to estimate the following lower and upper bound rates: 5.21% and 13.61% for male to female violence, and 6.22% and 18.21 % for female to male violence.)

Schumacher, J. A. & Leonard, K. E. (2005). Husbands' and wives' marital adjustment, verbal aggression, and physical aggression as longitudinal predictors of physical aggression in early marriage. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 73, 28-37. (A sample of 634 newly married couples <approximately 60% Euro-American and 30% African-American> completed the revised CTS on 3 occasions over three years. The prevalence of wife to husband aggression was 48%, 45%, and 41%, while husband to wife aggression was 37%, 38%, and 37%.)

Sharpe, D., & Taylor, J. K. (1999). An examination of variables from a social-developmental model to explain physical and psychological dating violence. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 31:3, 165-175. (Canadian college students <110 men, 225 women> were surveyed with the Conflict Tactics Scale regarding dating violence. Results reveal that 38% of men and 27% of women report receiving physical violence from their partners. Twice as many women compared to men reported inflicting violence without receiving physical violence from dating partners.)

Shook, N. J., Gerrity, D. A., Jurich, J. & Segrist, A. E. (2000). Courtship violence among college students: A comparison of verbally and physically abusive couples. Journal of Family Violence, 15, 1-22. (A modified Conflict Tactics Scale was administered to 572 college students <395 women; 177 men>. Results reveal that significantly more women than men, 23.5% vs 13.0%, admitted using physical force against a dating partner.)

Sigelman, C. K., Berry, C. J., & Wiles, K. A. (1984). Violence in college students' dating relationships. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 5, 530-548. (Surveyed 504 college students <116 men, 388 women> with the Conflict Tactics Scale and found that men and women were similar in the overall amount of violence they expressed but that men reported experiencing significantly more violence than women.)

Simonelli, C. J. & Ingram, K. M. (1998). Psychological distress among men experiencing physical and emotional abuse in heterosexual dating relationships. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 13, 667-681. (Responses from 70 male undergraduates to the CTS and a Psychological Maltreatment Inventory revealed that 40% reported being the target of some form of physical aggression from their female dating partners while only 23% reported expressing physical aggression to their partners. Men who were victims of emotional and physical abuse also reported greater levels of

distress and depression.)

Simonelli, C. J., Mullis, T., Elliot, A. N., & Pierce, T. W. (2002). Abuse by siblings and subsequent experiences of violence within the dating relationship. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 17, 103-121. (A sample of 120 undergraduates <61 men, 59 women> completed the CTS. Ten percent of men and 33% of women reported that they perpetrated at least one type of physical aggressive behavior against their dating partner and 18% of men and 15% of women reported receiving physical aggression from their dating partner.)

Sommer, R. (1994). Male and female partner abuse: Testing a diathesis-stress model. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. (The study was in two waves: the first was from 1989-1990 and included a random sample of 452 married or cohabiting women and 447 married or cohabiting men from Winnipeg, Canada; the second was from 1991-1992 and included 368 women and 369 men all of whom participated in the first wave. Subjects completed the CTS & other assessment instruments. 39.1% of women reported being physically aggressive (16.2% reporting having perpetrated severe violence) at some point in their relationship with their male partner. While 26.3% of men reported being physically aggressive (with 7.6% reporting perpetrating severe violence) at some point in their relationship with their female partner. Among the perpetrators of partner abuse, 34.8% of men and 40.1% of women reported observing their mothers hitting their fathers. Results indicate that 21% of "males' and 13% of females' partners required medical attention as a result of a partner abuse incident." Results also indicate that "10% of women and 15% of men perpetrated partner abuse in self defense.")

Sommer, R., Barnes, G. E. & Murray, R. P. (1992). Alcohol consumption, alcohol abuse, personality and female perpetrated spouse abuse. Journal of Personality and Individual Differences, 13, 1315-1323. (The responses from a subsample of 452 women drawn from a sample of 1,257 Winnipeg residents were analyzed. Using the CTS, it was found that 39% of women physically aggressed against their male partners at some point in their relationship. Younger women with high scores on Eysenck's P scale were most likely to perpetrate violence. Note: The sample of subjects is the same as the one cited in Sommer's 1994 dissertation.)

Sorenson, S. B., & Telles, C. A. (1991). Self reports of spousal violence in a Mexican-American and non-Hispanic white population. Violence and Victims, 6, 3-15. (Surveyed 1,243 Mexican-Americans and 1,149 non-Hispanic whites and found that women compared to men reported higher rates of hitting, throwing objects, initiating violence, and striking first more than once. Gender difference was significant only for non-Hispanic whites.)

Sorenson, S. B., Upchurch, D. M., & Shen, H. (1996). Violence and injury in marital arguments: risk patterns and gender differences. American Journal of Public Health, 66 (1), 35-40. (Data analysis was based on findings from the National Survey of Families and Households conducted in 1987-88. Subjects included 6779 currently married White, Black and Hispanic individuals who completed a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale. Authors report that, "women <6.2% vs 4.9%> were slightly more likely than men to report that they had hit, shoved or thrown something at their spouse in the previous year." Women also reported higher rates of causing injury than did men. Other findings of note: 1) Blacks were 1.58 times more likely and Hispanics 0.53 times less likely than Whites to report that physical violence occurred in their relationship; 2) Subjects under 30 reported more violence and those above 50 reported less violence; 3) lower annual income was associated with higher rates of physical violence.)

Spencer, G. A., & Bryant, S. A. (2000). Dating violence: A comparison of rural, suburban and urban teens. Journal of Adolescent Health, 25 (5), 302-305. (A sample of 2094 high school students in upper New York State indicated their experience of physical dating violence. There were a similar number of boys and girls surveyed, with more subjects from urban areas than rural or suburban areas. The majority of subjects were white non-Hispanic. Males in each region were more likely to report being victims of physical dating violence than females in each region. Specifically, 30% of rural boys and 20% of urban and 20% of suburban boys reported being victims of partner physical aggression while 25% of rural girls and 16% of suburban and 13% of urban girls reported victimization.)

Steinmetz, S. K. (1977-78). The battered husband syndrome. Victimology: An International Journal, 2, 499-509. (A pioneering article suggesting that the incidence of husband beating was similar to the incidence of wife beating.)

Steinmetz, S. K. (1980). Women and violence: victims and perpetrators. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 34, 334-350. (Examines the apparent contradiction in women's role as victim and perpetrator in domestic violence.)

Steinmetz, S. K. (1981). A cross cultural comparison of marital abuse. Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 8, 404-414. (Using a modified version of the CTS, examined marital violence in small samples from six societies: Finland, United States, Canada, Puerto Rico, Belize, and Israel <total n=630>. Found that "in each society the percentage of husbands who used violence was similar to the percentage of violent wives." The major exception was Puerto Rico where men were more violent. Author also reports that, "Wives who used violence... tended to use greater amounts.")

Stets, J. E. & Henderson, D. A. (1991). Contextual factors surrounding conflict resolution while dating: results from a national study. Family Relations, 40, 29-40. (Drawn from a random national telephone survey, daters <n=277; men=149, women=128> between the ages of 18 and 30, who were single, never married and in a relationship during the past year which lasted at least two months with at least six dates were examined with the Conflict Tactics Scale. Findings reveal that over 30% of subjects used physical aggression in their relationships, with 22% of the men and 40% of the women reported using some form of physical aggression. Women were "6 times more likely than men to use severe aggression <19.2% vs. 3.4%>...Men were twice as likely as women to report receiving severe aggression <15.7% vs. 8%>." Also found that younger subjects and those of lower socioeconomic status <SES> were more likely to use physical aggression.)

Stets, J. E., & Pirog-Good, M. A. (1987). Violence in dating relationships, Social Psychology Quarterly, 50, 237-246. (Examined a college sample of 505 white students. Found that men and women were similar in both their use and reception of violence. Jealousy was a factor in explaining dating violence for women.)

Stets, J. E. & Pirog-Good, M. A. (1989). Patterns of physical and sexual abuse for men and women in dating relationships: A descriptive analysis, Journal of Family Violence, 4, 63-76. (Examined a sample of 287 college students <118 men and 169 women> and found similar rates for men and women of low level physical abuse in dating relationships. More women than men were pushed or shoved <24% vs 10%> while more men than women were slapped <12% vs 8%>. In term of unwanted sexual contact 22% of men and 36% of women reported such behavior. The most frequent category for both men <18%> and women <19%> was the item, "against my will my partner initiated necking".)

Stets, J. E., & Straus, M. A. (1990). Gender differences in reporting marital violence and its medical and psychological consequences. In M. A. Straus & R. J. Gelles (Eds.), Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families (pp. 151-166). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction. (Reports information regarding the initiation of violence. In a sample of 297 men and 428 women, men said they struck the first blow in 43.7% of cases, and their partner hit first in 44.1% of cases and could not disentangle who hit first in remaining 12.2%. Women report hitting first in 52.7% of cases, their partners in 42.6% and could not disentangle who hit first in remaining 4.7%. Authors conclude that violence by women is not primarily defensive.)

Straus, M. (1980). Victims and aggressors in marital violence. American Behavioral Scientist, 23, 681-704. (Reviews data from the 1975 National Survey. Examined a subsample of 325 violent couples and found that in 49.5% of cases both husbands and wives committed at least one violent act, while husbands alone were violent in 27.7% of the cases and wives alone were violent in 22.7% of the cases. Found that 148 violent husbands had an average number of 7.1 aggressive acts per year while the 177 violent wives averaged 6.8 aggressive acts per year.)

Straus, M. A. (1995). Trends in cultural norms and rates of partner violence: An update to 1992. In S. M. Stich & M. A. Straus (Eds.) Understanding partner violence: Prevalence, causes, consequences, and solutions (pp. 30-33). Minneapolis, MN: National Council on Family Relations. (Reports finding that while the approval of a husband slapping his wife declined dramatically from 1968 to 1994 <21% to 10%> the approval of a wife slapping her husband did not decline but remained at 22% during the same period. The most frequently mentioned reason for slapping for both partners was sexual unfaithfulness. Also reports that severe physical assaults by men declined by 48% from 1975 to 1992--38/1000 to 19/1000 while severe assaults by women did not change from 1975 to 1992 and remained above 40/1000. Suggests that public service announcements should be directed at female perpetrated

violence and that school based programs "explicitly recognize and condemn violence by girls as well as boys.")

Straus, M. A. (1998). The controversy over domestic violence by women: A methodological, theoretical, and sociology of science analysis. Paper presented at Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology, Claremont, CA. (Examines issue of differential rates of assaults between crime studies and couple conflict studies. Provides a sociological explanation to account for assaults by women within the family.)

Straus, M. A. (2001). Prevalence of violence against dating partners by male and female university students worldwide. Violence Against Women, 10, 790-811. (Dating aggression was studied at 31 universities in 16 countries worldwide. Responding to the revised Conflict Tactics Scale were 8666 students <5919 women, 2747 men>. Results reveal that overall 25% of men and 28% of women assaulted their dating partner in the past year. At 21 of the 31 universities studied a larger percentage of women than men assaulted their dating partner. In terms of severe assaults a higher rate of perpetration by women occurred in a majority (18 of the 31) of the sites.)

Straus, M. A. (2005). Women's violence toward men is a serious social problem. In D. R. Loseke, R. J. Gelles, & M. M. Cavanaugh (Eds.), Current Controversies on Family Violence, 2nd Edition, (pp. 55-77). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (A scholarly review of research showing that women initiate physical assaults on their male partners as frequently as men assault women. Examines the fact that injuries and fatalities result from such violence.)

Straus, M. A. (2006, May). Dominance and symmetry in partner violence by male and female university students in 32 nations. Paper presented on Trends in Intimate Violence Intervention, sponsored by University of Haifa and New York University. New York University. (A convenience sample of 13,601 students <71.5% women, 28.5% men> at 68 universities in 32 countries completed the CTS2. Findings reveal that almost a third of students assaulted their dating partners in a 12 month period. In terms of initiation, mutual aggression accounted for 68.6% of physical violence, while women initiated violence 21.4% of the time and men initiated violence 9.9% of the time.)

Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1986). Societal change and change in family violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two national surveys. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48, 465-479. (Reviewed data from two large sample national violence surveys of married couples and report that men and women assaulted each other at approximately equally rates, with women engaging in minor acts of violence at a higher rate than men. Sample size in 1975 survey=2,143; sample size in 1985 survey=6,002.)

Straus, M. A., Gelles, R. J., & Steinmetz, S. K. (1981). Behind closed doors: Violence in the American family, Garden City, NJ: Anchor. (Reports findings from National Family Violence survey conducted in 1975. In terms of religion, found that Jewish men had the lowest rates of abusive spousal violence (1%), while Jewish women had a rate of abusive spousal violence which was more than double the rate for Protestant women <7%>, pp. 128-133. Abusive violence was defined as an "act which has a high potential for injuring the person being hit," pp.21-2.)

Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2). Development and preliminary psychometric data. Journal of Family Issues, 17, 283-316. (The revised CTS has clearer differentiation between minor and severe violence and new scales to measure sexual coercion and physical injury. Used the CTS2 with a sample of 317 college students <114 men, 203 women> and found that: 49% of men and 31% of women reported being a victim of physical assault by their partner; 38% of men and 30% of women reported being a victim of sexual coercion by their partner; and 16% of men and 14% of women reported being seriously injured by their partners.)

Straus, M. A., & Kaufman Kantor, G. (1994, July). Change in spouse assault rates from 1975-1992: A comparison of three national surveys in the United States. Paper presented at the Thirteenth World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld, Germany. (Reports that the trend of decreasing severe assaults by husbands found in the National Survey from 1975 to 1985 has continued in the 1992 survey while wives maintained higher rates of assault.)

Straus, M. A., Kaufman Kantor, G., & Moore, D. W. (1994, August). Change in cultural norms approving marital violence from 1968 to 1994. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, CA. (Compared surveys conducted in 1968 <n=1,176>, 1985 <n=6,002>, 1992 <n=1,970>, and 1994 <n=524>, with

regard to the approval of facial slapping by a spouse. Approval of slapping by husbands decreased from 21% in 1968 to 13% in 1985, to 12% in 1992, to 10% in 1994. The approval of slapping by wives was 22% in 1968 and has not declined over the years.)

Straus, M. A., & Medeiros, R. A. (2002, November). Gender differences in risk factors for physical violence between dating partners by university students. Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Society for Criminology, Chicago, Illinois. (A sample of 232 men and 334 women responded to revised CTS. Results indicate that for minor violence the rates for both men and women are 22% and for severe violence rates are 10% for men and 11% for women.)

Straus, M. A., & Mouradian, V. E. (1999, November). Preliminary psychometric data for the Personal Relationships Profile (PRP): A multi-scale tool for clinical screening and research on partner violence. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Toronto, Canada. (In a study of 1,034 dating couples at two US universities, injury rates based on responses to the revised CTS (CTS2) revealed that 9.9% of men and 9.4% of women report being injured by the opposite sex. In terms of inflicting injuries, 10.1% men and 8.0% women indicated that they inflicted injuries on their partners.)

Straus, M. A., & Ramirez, I. L. (2002, July). Gender symmetry in prevalence, severity, and chronicity of physical aggression against dating partners by university students in Mexico and USA. Paper presented at the XV World Meeting of the International Society for Research on Aggression, Montreal, Canada. Available at: http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2/. (Reports findings from four samples of university students in Juarez, Mexico, El Paso and Lubbock, Texas, and New Hampshire. Subjects (N=1,554) responded to the revised Conflict Tactics Scale. Results indicate that there were no significant differences between males and females in either the overall prevalence of physical aggression or the prevalence of severe attacks. However, when only one partner was violent it was twice as likely to be the female than the male <19.0% vs 9.8%>. Moreover, in terms of severe aggression females were twice as likely to be violent than men <29.8% vs 13.7%>).

Sugarman, D. B., & Hotaling, G. T. (1989). Dating violence: Prevalence, context, and risk markers. In M. A. Pirog-Good & J. E. Stets (Eds.) Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues (pp.3-32). New York: Praeger. (Reviewed 21 studies of dating behavior and found that women reported having expressed violence at higher rates than men--329 per 1000 vs 393 per 1000.)

Szinovacz, M. E. (1983). Using couple data as a methodological tool: The case of marital violence. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 45, 633-644. (Used Conflict Tactics Scale with 103 couples and found that the wives' rates of physical aggression was somewhat higher than husbands'.)

Tang, C. S. (1994). Prevalence of spouse aggression in Hong Kong. Journal of Family Violence, 9, 347-356. (Subjects were 382 undergraduates <246 women, 136 men> at the Chinese University in Hong Kong. The CTS was used to assess students' evaluation of their parents responses during family conflict. 14% of students reported that their parents engaged in physical violence. "Mothers were as likely as fathers to use actual physical force toward their spouses.")

Thompson Jr., E. H. (1990). Courtship violence and the male role. Men's Studies Review, 7 (3), 1, 4-13. (Subjects were 336 undergraduates <167 men, 169 women> who completed a modified version of the CTS. Found that 24.6% of men compared to 28.4% of women expressed physical violence toward their dating partners within the past two years. Found that women were twice as likely as men to slap their partners.)

Thompson Jr., E. H. (1991). The maleness of violence in dating relationships: an appraisal of stereotypes. Sex Roles, 24, 261-278. (In a more extensive presentation of his 1990 article, the author concludes that, "a more masculine and/or less feminine gender orientation and variations in relationship seriousness proved to be the two strongest predictors of both men's and women's involvement in courtship violence.")

Tjaden, P. & Thoennes, N. (2000). Prevalence and consequences of male-to-female and female-to-male intimate partner violence as measured by the National Violence Against Women Survey. Violence Against Women, 6, 142-

161. (Telephone interviews using a modified version of the CTS was obtained from 6,934 men and 7,278 women regarding prevalence and consequences of partner violence. Authors report that women, over the course of their lives were 2.9 times more likely to report being physically assaulted than men. However, it should be noted that overall reported estimate of annual intimate partner violence for women of 1.4% is significantly lower than 11-12% estimates from earlier national surveys. Straus (1998) characterizes the data from this study as being flawed and inaccurate. He cites the wording of items as possibly creating "demand characteristics" that led subjects to view the survey as a study of crime and thus restrict their responses to exclude behavior considered harmless, especially minor assaults by women. Thus, he states this unintended demand characteristics probably account for the low prevalence rate and 3 to 1 ratio of male to female physical assaults.)

Tyree, A., & Malone, J. (1991). How can it be that wives hit husbands as much as husbands hit wives and none of us knew it? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. (Reviews the literature and discusses results from their study attempting to predict spousal violence. Found that women's violence is correlated with a history of hitting siblings and a desire to improve contact with partners.)

Vasquez, D., & Falcone, R. (1997). Cross gender violence. Annals of Emergency Medicine, 29 (3), 427-429. (Reports equal cross gender violence treated at an Ohio trauma center during an 11 mouth period. Of 1,400 trauma admissions, 37 patients <18 men, 19 women> sustained injuries inflicted by members of the opposite sex. The severity score of injury was higher for men than women, 11.4 vs 6.9. The majority of men were admitted for stab wounds, 72%; the majority of women for assault, 53%.)

Vivian, D., & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J. (1996). Are bi-directionally violent couples mutually victimized? In L. K. Hamberger & C. Renzetti (Eds.) Domestic partner abuse (pp. 23-52). New York: Springer. (Authors found using a modified version of the CTS, that in a sample of 57 mutually aggressive couples, there were no significant differences between husbands' and wives' reports concerning the frequency and severity of assault victimization. With regard to injuries, 32 wives and 25 husbands reported the presence of a physical injury which resulted from partner aggression.)

Waiping, A. L., & Sporakowski, M. J. (1989). The continuation of violent dating relationships among college students. Journal of College Student Development, 30, 432-439. (Using a modified version of the CTS, authors examined courtship violence in a sample of 422 college students <227 women, 195 men>. Women more often than men <35.3% vs 20.3%> indicated that they physically abused their partners.)

Watson, J. M., Cascardi, M., Avery-Leaf, S., & O'Leary, K. D. (2001). High school students' responses to dating aggression. Victims and Violence, 16 (3), 339-348. (Using a modified version of the CTS, authors examined dating violence in a multi-ethnic sample <43% Hispanic; 31.5% Caucasian; 15.8% African-American> of New York high school students <266 males, 209 females>. Overall, 45.6% of students reported experiencing physical aggression from a current or past dating partner. There were significant differences in self-reported rates of victimization: African-American 60%, Caucasian 47% and Hispanic 41%. The only ethnic group that showed significant gender differences were Hispanics, with females showing higher rates of victimization.)

Whitaker, D. J., Haileyesus, T., Swahn, M., & Saltzman, L. S. (2007). Differences in frequency of violence and reported injury between relationships with reciprocal and nonreciprocal intimate partner violence. American Journal of Public Health, 97, 941-947. (A sample of 11,370 young adults <46% male, 54% female; 70% white, 15% Black, 10.7% Hispanic, 4.3 % other> aged 18-28, who were drawn from the 2001 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, responded to a modified version of the CTS. Results indicate that almost 24% of all relationships had some physical violence and that half the violence was reciprocal. In non-reciprocally violent relationships, women were the perpetrators 70% of the time. While overall, women were somewhat more likely to be injured than men, the authors report that, "in fact, men in relationships with reciprocal violence were reportedly injured more often <25.2%> than were women in relationships with nonreciprocal violence <20.0%>.)

White, J. W., & Humphrey, (1994). Women's aggression in heterosexual conflicts. Aggressive Behavior, 20, 195-202. (Eight hundred and twenty nine women <representing 84% of entering class of women> 17 and 18 years old, entering the university for the first time completed the CTS and other assessment instruments. Results reveal that

51.5% of subjects used physical aggression at least once in their prior dating relationships and, in the past year, 30.2% reported physically aggressing against their male partners. Past use of physical aggression was the best predictor of current aggression. The witnessing and experiencing of parental aggression also predicted present aggression.)

White, J. W., & Kowalski, R. M. (1994). Deconstructing the myth of the nonaggressive woman: A feminist analysis. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18, 487-508. (A review and analysis which acknowledges that "women equal or exceed men in number of reported aggressive acts committed within the family." Examines a variety of explanations to account for such aggression.)

White, J. W., & Koss, M. P. (1991). Courtship violence: Incidence in a national sample of higher education students. Violence and Victims, 6, 247-256. (In a representative sample of 2,603 women and 2,105 men it was found that 37% of the men and 35% of women inflicted some form of physical aggression, while 39% of the men and 32% of the women received some form of physical aggression.)

Williams, S. L., & Frieze, I. (2005a). Courtship behaviors, relationship violence, and breakup persistence in college men and women. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 29, 248-257. (A sample of college students <215 women and 85 men; 77% Caucasian, 13% African-American, 5% Asian & the rest mixed or other> responded to the revised Conflict Tactics Scale, CTS2. Results revealed that women were significantly more likely than men to engage in mild (40% vs 23%) and severe (14% vs 4%) acts of violence with their partners.)

Williams, S. L., & Frieze, I. H. (2005b). Patterns of violent relationships, psychological distress, and marital satisfaction in a national sample of men and women. Sex Roles, 52 (11/12), 771-784. (Data from a National Comorbidity Survey was examined. In a sample of 3,519 men and women it was found that 18.4% were involved in a violent relationship. Most violence, both mild and severe, was mutual. However, women were more likely than men to initiate both mild and severe violence.)

Wilson, M. I. & Daley, M. (1992). Who kills whom in spouse killings? On the exceptional sex ratio of spousal homicides in the United States. Criminology, 30, 189-215. (Authors summarize research which indicates that between 1976 and 1985, for every 100 men who killed their wives, about 75 women killed their husbands. Authors report original data from a number of cities, e.g., Chicago, Detroit, Houston, where the ratio of wives as perpetrators exceeds that of husbands.)

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